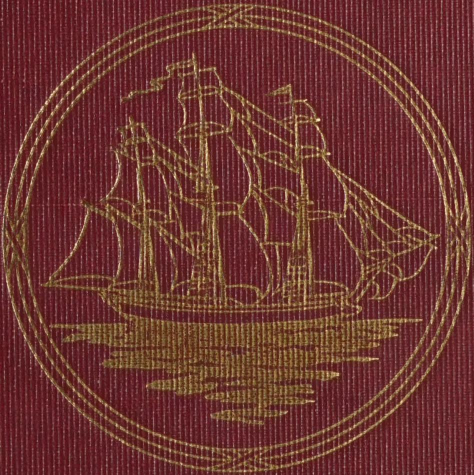

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Salem in the Eighteenth Century

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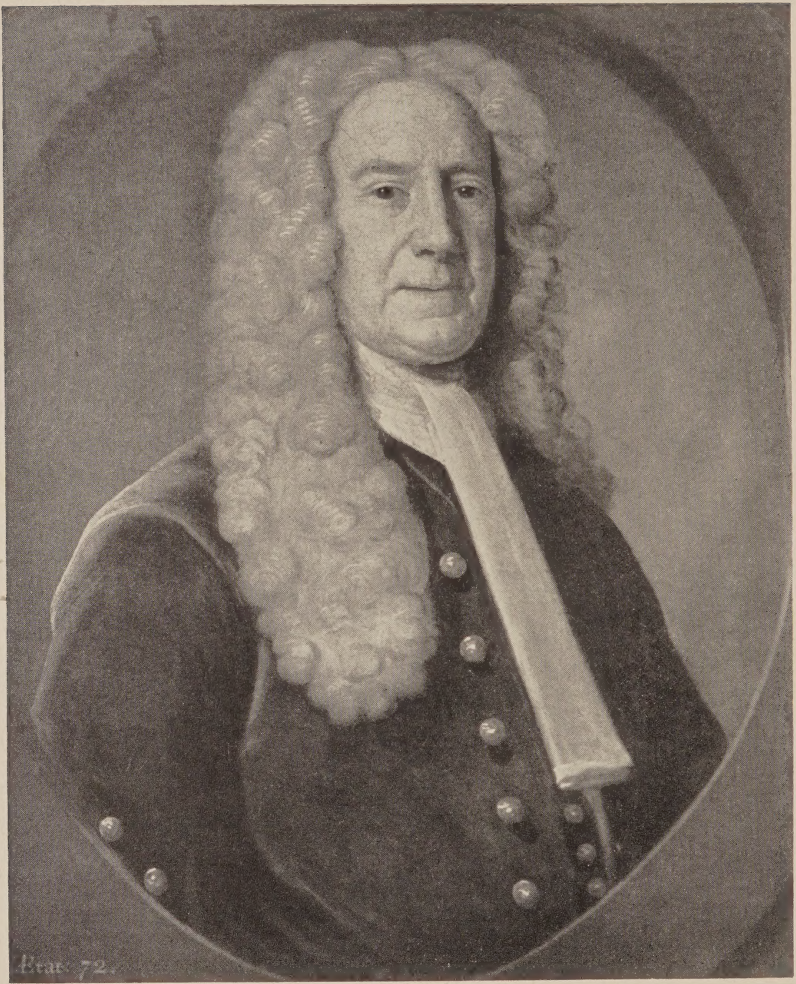

HONORABLE BENJAMIN LYNDE, 1666–1745
Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts

SALEM IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

BY

JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS
TRUSTEE OF THE ESSEX INSTITUTE
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ESSEX INSTITUTE
SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS
1969

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TO THE MEMORY OF
FOUR GOOD CITIZENS
DEACON STEPHEN PHILLIPS
MODERATOR OF THE MARBLEHEAD TOWN MEETING IN 1775
CAPTAIN STEPHEN PHILLIPS
MASTER OF EAST INDIA SHIPS AND MERCHANT
HONORABLE STEPHEN C. PHILLIPS
MERCHANT, MEMBER OF CONGRESS AND MAYOR OF SALEM
HONORABLE STEPHEN H. PHILLIPS
ATTORNEY GENERAL OF MASSACHUSETTS AND OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

PREFACE

If I could ever have got more than two hours to work in any library, I could have done more special research on some topics. One cannot, however, expect to run the finances of a publishing house, a chain of bookstores, and half a dozen schools, historical societies, and libraries and still have time for much antiquarian research. Odd minutes put together make a lot of hours, however, and are full of the pleasure of completing a story that has been written only in many fragments heretofore. The men of the eighteenth century made a nation out of a group of settlements — it is worth while to study intimately how one sturdy group of them grew up.

Unfortunately most of the contemporary knowledge of Salem history is derived from Nathaniel Hawthorne, and, also unfortunately, like many of the present pseudo-historians and pseudo-biographers, he wrote to make fiction exciting and picturesque without much attention to historical accuracy. There was no reason why he should cramp his style for accuracy, but no one should read him on the theory that he is getting a true and unbiased picture of colonial life. An earlier generation of Salemites rather cordially resented the picture he drew. It was as unfairly damnatory as some of the modern lives of, say, Jefferson, are superficially saccharine.

Of course one can have nothing but contempt for those modern novelists, male and female, whose unclean minds lead them to search out the few indecent episodes in colonial life (which were no more typical than six months of witchcraft were of two centuries of quiet life) and try to represent them as part of the regular daily life of the community.

My cordial thanks are due to Henry Noyes Otis and W. W. K. Freeman, who drew the maps and developed thereby a joy in antiquarian research; to Miss Alice Meek, who did a lot of exploring and copied the entire manuscript; to Mr. Matt B. Jones, a thorough and persistent antiquarian; to Miss Harriet S. Tapley, of the Essex Institute; to Mr. Allen French, historian of the American Revolution; to Mr. R. G. Adams, of the W. L. Clements Library; to Mr. Walter B. Briggs, of the Harvard College Library, and to Mrs. Ralf P. Emerson, of Salem.

Many thanks are due Mrs. F. S. Moseley, Mrs. Richard Ober, Mr. Lawrence W. Jenks, Mr. Howard Corning and Mr. W. S. Appleton who have kindly furnished photographs for illustrations. The Essex Institute and The Peabody Museum have proved an endless mine of material.

I have tested much material on my brother, Mr. Charles H. Taylor, Professor H. B. Huntington, Dr. James E. Gregg, and Dr. H. W. Foote, largely without their realizing it. I hope they have not been too much bored. My wife has protected my hours of leisure and affectionately made possible the completion of the work.

J. D. P.

Topsfield, 1937

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Honorable Benjamin Lynde, 1666–1745 *Frontispiece*

Born in Boston, graduated at Harvard in 1686 where he was a distinguished scholar, he went to England, was admitted to the Middle Temple and made a Barrister. He returned to be made Admiralty Advocate General in 1697, and soon after married Mary, daughter of William Browne. He represented Salem in the General Court, was of the Council from 1713–1737. He was justice of the Court of Sessions, of the Supreme Court, and Chief Justice. This beautiful photograph of his portrait by John Smibert painted in 1738 was courteously supplied to the author by Mrs. F. S. Moseley.

Honorable William Browne, 1709–1763 98

Born in Salem, son of Honorable Samuel and Abigail Browne, graduated at Harvard College, representative in the General Court, justice of the Court of General Sessions, and member of the Council. He married first, Mary Burnet, daughter of Governor Burnet, and second, Mary French, daughter of Philip French of Brunswick, New Jersey. He built the famous house on Folly Hill. This portrait and that of his wife by John Smibert, are in the Johns Hopkins Museum in Baltimore, but should be in Salem.

Colonel Benjamin Pickman, 1706–1773 144

Born in Boston, son of Benjamin and Abigail (Lindall) Pickman, married Love Rawlins, moved to Salem and became a distinguished merchant. He was colonel of the First Essex Regiment, justice of the Court of Common Pleas, representative to the General Court and member of the Council. From a portrait by Greenwood in the Essex Institute. The ship in the background is doubtless one of his vessels and the paper in his hand is marked 'Invoice N.E.. . . . . .1749.'

Town House Square about 1765 170

This drawing by Dr. Joseph Orne shows the square looking north along the west side of the street. The large square mansion is the Benjamin Pickman house, the court house where the witches were tried then used as a school stands in the middle of the street. A vessel on North River and the trees in North Salem show in the distance. The original is in the Essex Institute.

MANSION OF COLONEL BENJAMIN PICKMAN 242

The Pickman House built about 1749 at 165 Essex Street shows the gambrel-roof house at its very best. The interior with the famous codfish staircase was very beautifully finished. It still stands, much defaced, beside the Peabody Museum.

MANSION OF TIMOTHY ORNE, ESQUIRE 242

The Orne house, built ten or twelve years later at 266 Essex Street, shows one of the earliest of the square three-storied houses soon to become so popular. What is left of it disappeared about 1910 behind a row of shops. Miss Kitty Hodges was the last occupant, and it was then in its beautiful original condition.

DR. THOMAS BARNARD, 1748–1814 344

Dr. Barnard was born in Newbury, Feb. 5, 1748, son of Reverend Thomas and Mary (Woodbridge) Barnard, graduated from Harvard in 1766, ordained first minister of the North Church in 1773, married the same year Lois Gardner. He was a fine scholar and received the degree of D.D. from Edinburgh. He died in Salem in 1814. From a negative at the Essex Institute of a painting.

THE FIRST BUILDING OF THE NORTH SOCIETY 344

The first edifice of the North Church was built on the corner of North and Lynde Streets in 1773, and was converted to manufacturing purposes when the Society moved to the present building in 1836. It originally had a spire, but this was replaced in 1796 by the belfry seen in the picture. This drawing, evidently made after that date, is in the vestry of the church.

CAPTAIN JOHN DERBY, 1741–1781 366

John Derby was the son of Richard Derby, the elder, and the brother of Elias Haskett Derby. He took the account of the Battle of Lexington to England for his brother Richard, who was a member of the Provincial Congress and the most active patriot of the family. Unfortunately no likeness of Richard is known to exist, or it would have been used. From a copy by Frothingham of a portrait by Stuart owned by Mr. W. S. Appleton, who kindly supplied the photograph.

GENERAL TIMOTHY PICKERING, 1745–1829 366

General Timothy Pickering was the son of Deacon Timothy Pickering, a most constructive opponent of the British government, a distinguished officer of the Revolution, and one of Washington's most able and loyal supporters. He was afterwards in turn postmaster general, Secretary of War, and Secretary of State. He indulged in various land activities in the West, but died in Salem in 1829 and is buried in the Broad Street Cemetery. His wife was Rebecca White of Bradford. From a painting by Charles W. Peele in Independence Hall.

CAPTAIN JOHN CARNES, 1755–1796 412

Captain Carnes was the son of John and Hannah (Peele) Carnes and was baptised in Salem in 1755. He was a brilliant and fearless privateersman of the Revolution, and commanded many important vessels. He continued his maritime career after the war, and died at the Cape of Good Hope in 1796. He married Lydia, the daughter of Richard and Lydia (Gardner) Derby in 1782. The oil portrait in the Essex Institute by an unknown artist is an interesting one showing a British frigate on the right, and an American one to the left in the background.

CAPTAIN HUGH HILL, 1741–1829 412

Captain Hill was born in 1741, in Carrickfergus in North Ireland, went to sea at the age of fifteen, and sailed for Robert Hooper of Marblehead. Later he moved to Beverly and was sailing for the Cabots at the time of the Revolution. He was a distinguished privateersman throughout the war. Later he engaged in commerce and the fisheries. In 1812 he retired to a farm in North Beverly, where he died in 1829. From a portrait in the possession of Mrs. Richard Ober of Beverly which she kindly allowed to be photographed.

MAP OF SALEM IN 1760 276

This map is intended to show the somewhat rough original limits of the town with the districts which have been cut off from time to time to make the adjoining towns. It also shows the old place names of many localities. It is largely due to the interested effort of Mr. W. W. K. Freeman.

MAP OF SALEM IN 1780 476

This is an attempt to show the outline of the city in 1780 with the localities where many of the citizens lived at that time. It is based on the account of Salem by Benjamin Pickman (Essex Institute Historical Collections, vi, 93) supplemented by such other data as could be found. Its completeness is largely due to the interested effort of Mr. Henry Noyes Otis.

Salem in the Eighteenth Century

ABBREVIATIONS

E.I.H.C.	Essex Institute Historical Collections
M.H.S.C.	Massachusetts Historical Society Collections
Hutchinson	Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, vols. I, II, 3d edition, 1795, vol. III, 1828
Palfrey	Palfrey's *History of New England*, 5 vols.
Perley	Perley's *History of Salem*, 3 vols.
Felt, 1st.	Felt's *Annals of Salem* chronologically arranged, 1827 (published in parts)
Felt, 2d.	Felt's *Annals of Salem* topically arranged, vol. I, 1842; vol. II, 1849

SALEM IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

∴

CHAPTER I

GOVERNOR PHIPS AND THE PROVINCIAL CHARTER

It was a sullen and resentful Massachusetts rather than a hopeless one which saw the old charter of the Massachusetts Bay Colony swept away and the tactless Andros sent by a tactless Stuart king to be their governor and licensed to rule as he saw fit without the consent of the people. It might be all right to license him, but mighty is the power of dull, sullen discontent and passive resistance. On the first word of the glorious revolution of 1689, away went Andros and all his minions, and Governor Simon Bradstreet and the old court of assistants and the old General Court appeared almost as if by magic. Immediately the old commonwealth was going just as if the charter had not been annulled, until the pleasure of the king and queen should be known. There was very little anxiety about discovering their pleasure, and if the colony had been left to its own devices, it would no doubt be living happily today under its own governor and General Court.

William of Orange, if the colony had but realized it, was a far more dangerous person than James. He had vast ability for administration and for government and, though friendly to the Protestants of Massachusetts as Protestants, he had no intention of allowing a colony, entirely independent of the British government, to exist in his dominion of New England. The hope of the colonists was that the old charter would be restored and that things would go on as before, but William and his advisers fully understood the difficulties for them of that situation. It was quite impossible, according to contemporary political philosophy, to have a little independent nation within the king's boundaries, even if the colonists were willing to attend to their business and admit they were Englishmen, as long as the king attended to his. A more dominant control introduced the vital question of whose business it was to attend to each detail of government and who was to pay the bills. So long as the Anglo-Saxon people can be independent, they will pay the bills more or less willingly themselves, but when someone else attempts to tax them even for their good, real as well as alleged, the path leads down the road to bloodshed sooner or later, and it may be well for the bureaucrats of the twentieth century to note this racial tendency. All the quarrels of the eighteenth century in America were caused by the question of whose business it was to defend the colonies and who should pay the bill. The laws of trade and navigation seem a far cry from this, but if England was to pay for colonial defense, was she not entitled to the benefits of colonial trade?

The new régime started off pleasantly enough. That extraordinary son of New England, William Phips, was appointed governor. Born on the extreme frontier of Maine near the mouth of the Kennebec as one of twenty-one brothers, he had no education in his youth, but he learned how to be a good ship-carpenter, which was perhaps better. He came to Boston at twenty-two and there spent his leisure learning to read. He soon married the widow Hull, a fair lady older than himself, with a tidy little fortune. He promised his wife a 'fair brick house in the Green Lane of North Boston,' and she lived to have it too. His life reads like a fairy tale. Successively shipbuilder, sea captain, merchant, he finally went to England, entered into some sort of deal with King James the Second to fish up Spanish treasure in the West Indies, actually fished it up, and when king and court had been placated, found he had sixteen thousand pounds left for himself. Knighted by the king, he was sent back to Boston as high sheriff, where he did what he could to protect his old friends against Andros and Randolph. During King William's War he led the successful expedition against Port Royal and the unsuccessful one against Quebec, and presently returned to England, where, by the machinations of Increase Mather and other friends, he was appointed governor and returned to Boston with the new charter in the spring of 1692.[1]

The charter which Phips brought with him was a new frame of government with many rights of the colony protected, but it was not the charter of a practically free state as the old one had been. The Privy Council recognized this when they told the agents of the colony with some asperity that they were not plenipotentiaries of an independent state, but subjects of Great Britain who must take what was given them. The new charter established a new province of Massachusetts which included the Plymouth Colony, the Massachusetts Bay Colony, the province of Maine, and the province of Nova Scotia, including all the land beyond Maine to the St. Lawrence River.[2] Thus Massachusetts ran from Cape Cod to Cape Breton, except for the little slice of New Hampshire which later came under the same governor.

Under the old charter, the freemen of the company, who were selected by the General Court and latterly had to be church members, in turn elected the representatives. These representatives, assembled in the General Court, together with the assistants also elected by the freemen, had practically full power in the state. They elected magistrates and state officers, determined the policy of the colony, and levied the taxes. Under the new charter the governor and lieutenant-governor were appointed by the king, and the governor could appoint all military officers as he pleased and all judicial officers with the consent of the council.[1] This new council, however, was elected by the General Court and not by the people, and the governor could refuse men undesirable from his point of view and require substitutes to be elected. The council was, in most cases, the court of last appeal. Moreover, the suffrage was no longer restricted to the freemen, who had to be church members, for any man with a forty-shilling freehold or worth forty pounds could vote.[2] Thus, the two important changes were that the ecclesiastical control of the suffrage was broken down and the final control of important appointive officers went back to the crown, but the elective, though liberalized, General Court still controlled the purse-strings, including the governor's salary, and that weapon the Court soon learned how to use to starve out unpopular governors.[3] Another difficulty soon to come to the surface was the appointment of collectors of revenue, which the colonists claimed were not authorized by any act of Parliament, but who were nevertheless appointed directly from England.[4]

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[1] Bowen: *Life of Sir William Phips*, in Sparks: *Amer. Biog.*, VII, 3–104; Mather: *Magnalia*, bk. II.

[2] Hutchinson, II, 13.

The transit from the old to the new charter and the effect of it and the Indian wars on Salem are concisely

[1] Hutchinson, II, 15.

[2] *Ibid.*, 17.

[3] See *Colonel Quarry's Mem.*, 3 M.H.S.C., VII, 229.

[4] Hutchinson, II, 74, 75, note.

and aptly described in a letter which the Reverend John Higginson, the aged pastor of Salem, wrote in August, 1693, to his son, who was then Governor of Saint George's Fort in the East Indies, as follows:

> In the last letter I received from you before you went to the Indies you informed me that one reason why you left England was, you was willing for a time to be out of the way of the troubles which you saw coming upon England & that the same troubles would reach us in New England which has most sadly come to pass for Sir Edmund Androse being sent over from King James to be Governor here with a company of subjects, needy persons, lawyers &c by the exercise of an arbitrary Government, the foundation of all our good things were destroyed, the wicked walked on every side & the vilest of men were exalted, the oppressions & sufferings of the multitudes were such, that they as soon as they heard that the Prince of Orange was gone for England, the country rose in arms imprisoned the whole crew & sent them for England, but in little more than a year the country was brought into a sad condition being also distressed by wars from the Indians and French both by land & sea which continues to this day & great confusion in the time of the committee of peace till it pleased God that King William gave us a new Charter & sent Sir Wm. Phip a native of New England (the last summer) to be our Governor whereby we hope for some reviveing by degrees, but the necessary great taxations (30 000^{li} one year), cause much murmuring among the people & by the concurrence of many such causes New England is greatly deminished & impoverished & brought low & in no place more than in Salem which had about 60 fishers ketches & other trading ships belonging to it but is now reduced to 15 the whole fishing trade being ceased & the men scattered & gone & the affliction of this time hath fallen heavily upon me & my family that whereas you know at first I had 160^{li} per annum that I might recover 100^{li} money & 40 cord of wood which I enjoyed for many years till Sir Edmund Andros came that the way of rating was laid aside & left to a voluntary contribution which hath proved from many

> nontribution it hath been for 6 years past but between 50 & 60li per annum & it is not for ministers to contest a maintenance especially in a time when the people are indeed impoverished.[1]

With the exception of the strict rule of Governor Lord Bellomont, from 1698 to 1701, the governorship was held steadily by New-England-born Englishmen till 1714, for Joseph Dudley succeeded Lord Bellomont. Dudley was the son of that staunch old Puritan Thomas Dudley, but he lacked the fiber of the earlier generation. He had been inclined to waver at the time the charter was annulled, and his pliant attitude had won him the distrust of the people as well as the presidency of the colony by royal appointment for a short period before Andros came over. Later he was in New York, a member of Parliament, and governor of the Isle of Wight, but what he desired most of all was the governorship of Massachusetts and he left no stone unturned to accomplish his purpose, and finally when Lord Bellomont died, he succeeded.[2] Dudley was a queer combination of a man who seems to have really loved New England and an adroit and not always scrupulous politician. He seems to have been the real founder of the tory party in Massachusetts.[3] Nevertheless, he was a native son, and the governorship continued to be held in New England hands till he was displaced in 1715.

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[1] In the Essex Institute Historical Collections, XLIII, 182, this letter is incorrectly dated August 31, 1698. The date must have been 1693, as that was the year after Phips arrived with the charter and the year when the Reverend John was seventy-seven years old, which he mentions as his age.

[2] Hutchinson, II, 82, 83, 116.

[3] Fiske: *Beginnings of New England*, 257.

CHAPTER II

BEGINNING OF THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS

For New England the seventeenth century closed in an atmosphere of dread of Indian raids and fear of naval attacks by France, but the same stern philosophy which led the Puritans to rely for aid on God and their own efforts in the founding of the colony still stood them in good stead. The accession of William and Mary and the troubles ensuing in Europe involved them in the French war, which was always called King William's War.

Quebec and Montreal had been established by the French, and a long line of trading-posts up the St. Lawrence waterways resulted in the bringing of furs of great value down to these centers. Under the able leadership of Count Frontenac, New France had begun to prosper. The aggressive group of French traders, trappers, and hunters lived on good terms with the Indians who were their customers. The French were not primarily settlers; at first they did not expect to remain in America, but came to make by trading a fortune which they expected to spend in France. Later they often married Indian wives and settled down, but the trading instinct was the first motive. It was obviously to their advantage to supply the Indians with weapons to secure furs, so guns and ammunition were freely traded for skins.

There was also the religious motive. The New England people undoubtedly regarded the Indians as children of Satan, and the benevolent efforts of the Apostle Eliot and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel did not arouse great enthusiasm with the settlers whose wives and children had been massacred by King Philip's warriors. On the other hand, the Jesuit missionaries of France looked on the Indians as souls to be saved, and though there may be marked differences of opinion on whether the surface indications of the saving process indicated moral regeneration, there can be nothing but admiration for the faith, courage, and almost fanatical enthusiasm of the young men of the Society of Jesus who gave themselves heart and soul to lives of hardship and exile in the wilderness. They lived the life of the Indian in canoe and wigwam. Moreover, they were trained diplomats and men of the world; they knew how to guide the emotions of their wild charges, and understood their motives as no Puritan could ever understand them. They did not hesitate to enflame the Indians against the English when it was to the benefit of France.

This French menace lay along what might be called the back doors of the entire group of English colonies from Virginia northward to where they tapered out into the poor little isolated settlements in Maine which were also nearest the center of attack.

King Philip's War had had something of the military aspect of a civil war or revolution in that the Indians were interspersed among the white settlements. This new war developed a frontier, weak indeed and much broken, but still, within that frontier was comparative safety, while along it there was danger at every point. The Maine coast towns from Pejepscot (Brunswick) down through Saco, Wells, and York were nothing but frontier.

At the New Hampshire line, the strip of frontier widened, and what are now the towns of Dover, Exeter, and Kingston became the rim of civilization, which then passed westward through Haverhill, Andover, Dunstable, Groton, and Lancaster to Deerfield, and then southward to the Connecticut towns of Waterbury and Simsbury.

In the twenty-five years of almost continuous war that followed the accession of William of Orange, not one of these towns escaped an Indian raid and massacre; in many of them Indian attacks came so often that no plowman went to his field without his musket, and the woodsman carried his axe on one shoulder and his gun on the other.

In March, 1695, the Massachusetts General Court passed an act forbidding the inhabitants of Wells, York, Kittery, Amesbury, Haverhill, etc., from leaving their towns on account of Indian raids.[1] This was very nice for the towns behind the line, but, in view of the inadequate garrisons afforded them, a bit rough on the frontiersmen. It is evident, however, that Massachusetts did not intend to have her territory reduced. In asking for money for defense, Salem stated as one reason, 'as we are a frontier town to the sea.'[2] Dover, Exeter, and the other towns in the New Hampshire jurisdiction were not included, but of course Massachusetts then owned Maine.

Anyone who is familiar with the contour of New England realizes how vulnerable she was in the early days to the holders of Quebec and Montreal. New England is threaded with rivers which rise in the vicinity of the White Mountains or to the northeastward of them, and flow to the ocean. These rivers, as, for example, the Penobscot, Kennebec, Saco, Merrimack, and Connecticut, are large streams navigable for two or three hundred miles for the light Indian canoes, and their headwaters almost mingle with the Chaudière and other rivers flowing into the St. Lawrence. They were a perfect means of communication for the hardy *coureurs de bois* and the Indians by canoe in summer and by snowshoe on the ice in winter. In the debatable land traversed by these rivers lived many tribes of Indians still aggressive and powerful, and among them settled many French missionaries. The Indians had perfect access in the rear to the French settlements for weapons in exchange for furs, and the unprotected English frontier lay all along before them.

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[1] See *Mass. Archives*, LXX, 240–42.

[2] *Ibid.*, LXXVI, 245–46.

The Indians had developed into very effective guerrilla forces. They no longer feared the weapons of the whites, in the use of which they had now become skillful. They had even learned how to attack the garrison houses by the use of fire, and they knew how to attack suddenly and then melt away into the forest the moment superior forces arrived. Small parties of five or six could cause immense damage and spread consternation in a whole town. Furthermore, the pressure of the settlements, French and English, caused real economic difficulty to the Indians' mode of life, but the French better understood how to turn toward the English the animosity which was caused by both. The English at first thought the solution lay in large expeditions against the French, while the French leaned toward a war of attrition, which was far less expensive and caused continuous loss and fear with little or no risk to themselves, though their Indian allies eventually suffered heavily.

There was another aspect to the problem which especially affected the people in the fishing and coastwise towns of Massachusetts. While the French had secured their hold on Quebec and Montreal, they had not yet made secure the mouth of the St. Lawrence. Newfoundland was held by the English, but Casco and Port Royal, St. John and Castine were held alternately by both parties as the fortunes of war leaned one way or the other. French and Indian attacks on the fishing fleets[1] aroused the people of Marblehead and Salem far more than a

[1] Hutchinson, 1, 352.

massacre or two in the Connecticut Valley.[1] The influence of Salem, Marblehead, and Boston no doubt directed the opening shot of King William's War against Port Royal.[2] The expedition was speeded by the animosity aroused by the Indian massacre at Salmon Falls,[3] and when Sir William Phips volunteered to lead it,[4] great enthusiasm was aroused. Seven vessels and seven or eight hundred men left on April 28, 1690,[5] and were back in Boston in little over a month, having captured Port Royal and cleaned up most of the French posts from there south. The expedition was a great success and captured booty enough to pay for it, though there was a grand dispute between Phips and the French commander Méneval over whether he stole the Frenchman's silver spoons and silk garters.[6] Colonel Bartholomew Gedney of Salem was on the committee to plan the expedition, and one of the eight vessels employed was Robert Kitchin's ketch from Salem.

There were at this time three regiments in Essex County, and the South Regiment consisted of the men from Salem, Marblehead, Lynn, Beverly, and Manchester.[7] Ipswich was the center for the Middle Regiment, and the North Regiment was mostly from north of the Merrimack. In February, 1690, Colonel Gedney, who commanded the South Regiment, was made commander-in-chief against the French.[8]

From the beginning of the war, Essex County had been heavily represented on the frontier. Captain Simon

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[1] Petition to Council, Sept., 1689, Felt, 1st, 295.

[2] Niles: *History of Indian and French Wars*, 3 M.H.S.C., VI, 214, mixes the Port Royal and Quebec expeditions. See Hutchinson, I, 352; Sewall: *Diary*, I, 316, 321; Parkman: *Frontenac*, 247.

[3] Parkman: *Frontenac*, 249, note.

[4] Sewall: *Diary*, I, 316.

[5] *Chalmer Papers*: Muster Roll, Harvard Library.

[6] 3 M.H.S.C., I, 115.

[7] Felt, 1st, 297.

[8] *Ibid.*

Willard of Salem, with at least one hundred and seventy men and some troopers, had been in Maine and, in November, 1689, wrote the governor asking supplies for his men at Casco. Captain Willard was an experienced and well-qualified leader,[1] and it was unfortunate that he left Casco just before the French attack[2] or that fort might not have been taken.[3] As this attack progressed, the council ordered one hundred and twenty Essex men, under Captain Stephen Sewall, sent eastward to stiffen the resistance.[4] Captain John Hathorne and Captain Jonathan Corwin were also in active service in Maine.

After the return of the successful Port Royal expedition, the colony, flushed with success, desired to try a second venture, and Sir William Phips was commissioned to proceed to Quebec.[5] Volunteers were called for and over three hundred men of Colonel Gedney's regiment rendezvoused at Salem July 29 for the expedition.[6] Jonathan Corwin was one of seven Essex captains to respond. The expedition started too late in the season. The attack planned against Montreal did not work out, so Frontenac hurried to Quebec and successfully beat off the colonial forces. The expedition was a costly failure and left the colony frightfully in debt.

The war brought all the usual troubles in its train. Salem was full of wounded men who had to be cared for,[7] and allowances of two shillings per week were made to the families of men in active service. Money had to be raised to ransom captives, fortifications had to be kept in repair, and a scout shallop was kept in commission, presumably to protect the fishermen. A petition is still in existence,[1] signed by nineteen patriotic citizens who subscribed £500 to repair the fort and obtain 'great gun bullets' and powder, and £60 more to keep the scout shallop at sea five months.[2] Hostilities dragged along, but by 1693 the Indians began to be sick of it and concluded a sort of peace, which did not last long, and in 1696 both John Hathorne and Colonel Gedney were out again to defend the frontier. Colonel Hathorne led a force on St. John River, while Colonel Gedney went with five hundred men to strengthen the garrisons and arrested Pasco Chubb for surrendering the fort at Pemaquid to Saint-Castin.[3]

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[1] Niles: *History*, 3 M.H.S.C., vi, 216.

[2] Sewall: *Diary*, i, 317.

[3] *Mass. Archives*, lxx, 160.

[4] Sewall: *Diary*, i, 324.

[5] *Hinckley Papers*, 4 M.H.S.C., v, 260.

[6] Felt, 1st, 298.

[7] *Ibid.*, 300.

These Indian wars were a series of incidents rather than a continuous campaign, and perhaps three incidents, too close to Salem to be pleasant, may represent the whole, though the bloody attack on Andover was also well within the Salem radius.[4] Not over twenty miles away and somewhat east of the present town of Georgetown lived a Mr. Goodrich. He seemed well within the frontier, but as he was conducting his Sabbath evening prayers October 23, 1692, with his wife and three little girls, a shot shattered the window and laid him dead on the floor. Some Indians rushed in at the door, murdered the wife and older daughters, and carried away captive little Deborah, seven years old. The province redeemed her six months later and she lived till 1774.[5] Episodes of this sort made life seem doubtful and uncertain.

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[1] *Mass. Archives*, LXX, 194.

[2] The list of men who subscribed is perhaps a good list of the most prominent men of the town, and includes Jos. Wolcott, William Hirst, Samuel Gardner, Wm. Browne, Robt. Kitchin, Roger Derby, Timo. Lindall, Deliuerance Parkmane, Manasath Marston, Thos. Gardner, Benja. Gerrish, Neh. Willoughby, Barto. Gedney, John Hathorne, Benja. Browne, Steph: Sewall, John Higginson, Benja. Marston, Jno. Turner. The names are given just as written.

[3] *Province Records*, Felt, 1st, 325.

[4] A. Abbot: *History of Andover*, 43.

[5] Gage: *History of Rowley*, 200.

Late in the afternoon of October 7, 1795, five or six Indians hid near the house of John Brown on Turkey Hill in Newbury [1] and waited till the men went off with a load of farm truck. Then they approached the house and killed a young girl just outside the door with a tomahawk and looted the house.[2] They succeeded in capturing all the other members of the household, who were women and children, except one girl. This girl hid in the bushes, and when they departed, fled to the neighbors and gave the alarm. Colonel Daniel Pierce at once rushed off an express to Colonel Appleton in Ipswich for men to range the woods toward Bradford and Andover, while Captain Stephen Greenleaf took up the trail [3] and tried to line the south bank of the Merrimack with men to prevent the Indians from getting away with their captives. At nine in the evening, he came upon them in a gully and was himself shot through the wrist.[4] The pursuit was so hot that the Indians had to abandon their prisoners, but not before they had knocked them all on the head except one lad.[5] They were mostly recovered alive, but all the injured died within the year of fractured skulls.[6] Three of the Indians crossed the river in a canoe and the other two escaped into the woods.[7] It is good to learn that brave Captain Greenleaf received from the General Court a grant of forty pounds for his vigorous service.[8] Captain Greenleaf had also seen vigorous service to the eastward earlier in the war in stopping the drive after the capture of Casco.[9]

These and other attacks resulted in a petition from the officers of the Middle Regiment that they might be allowed at the expense of the province to maintain a guard during harvest-time along the Merrimack River up as far as Bradford, and that the other Essex regiments, 'so many of these as are not frontiers,' maintain the guard from there to Dunstable. They claim the river 'is certainly known as the ould Roadway of the Indians when they come from the Eastward into Newbury, Rowly and Ipswich woods.'[1] This would not, however, have prevented the attack mentioned below, and was probably not acted on anyway.

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[1] Sewall: *Diary*, I, 414.

[2] Currier: *Ould Newbury*, 288–90.

[3] Niles: *History*, 3 M.H.S.C., VI, 238.

[4] *Mass. Archives*, LXX, I, 267.

[5] Niles: *History*, 3 M.H.S.C., VI, 238.

[6] Mather: *Magnalia*, bk. VII, art. 23, p. 89.

[7] Thomas Wade's letter in Currier: *Ould Newbury*, 289.

[8] Chap. 63, *Laws of the Province of Mass. Bay*, approved March 7, 1695/6.

[9] Niles: *History*, 3 M.H.S.C., VI, 217.

This third adventure near Salem was the raid on Haverhill which happened late in the war on March 15, 1697.[2] A body of twenty or more Indians appeared suddenly about the house of Thomas Duston, who lived in the westerly part of the town. Mrs. Duston, just recovering from the birth of a child, was in the house in charge of a nurse, Mary Neff.[3] The seven children, from two to seventeen years of age, were with their father in the field a short distance away. When Thomas Duston realized what was going on, it was too late to save his wife, so he hustled his little flock along before him while the Indians hesitated to come within the reach of his gun.[4] He finally herded them into the garrison house of Onisephorus Marsh on the slope of Pecker's Hill.[5]

Meanwhile, the rest of the Indians scattered among the neighboring farms and succeeded in murdering some thirty people and capturing nine. Nine houses, including Duston's, were burned before they decided to separate and retreat. Mrs. Duston and Mary Neff with the infant were ordered out to march. The infant's brains were soon

[1] *Mass. Archives*, LXX, 284–85.

[2] Niles: *History*, 3 M.H.S.C., VI, 240.

[3] Mather: *Magnalia*, bk. VII, art. 25, p. 90.

[4] Neal: *History of New England.*

[5] Moses Merrill: *Tradition.*

dashed out against a tree and some of the weaker captives were murdered, but Hannah Duston and Mary Neff trudged on. They traveled a dozen miles that day and found themselves presently assigned to an Indian family of twelve consisting of two warriors, three squaws, and seven children of various ages. They were pushing on for an Indian town somewhere in the upper Merrimack valley, north of where Concord, New Hampshire, now stands, where they were assured cheerfully that they would be stripped and scourged through the town, if not tortured. With the group there was an English boy who had been captured near Worcester the year before.

Finally they reached a little island where the Contoocook River joins the Merrimack. How long it took them to reach this temporary home of the Indians and how long they stayed there the story does not say,[1] but no doubt Hannah felt her captivity of six weeks or so was long enough, or else she feared that a change for the worse was imminent. She consulted with the youth, Samuel Lenerson, as to the best way to kill and scalp a man, and just before dawn next morning the three captives, armed with stolen tomahawks, proceeded to their bloody work. The two women and the boy swiftly and surely dispatched the sleeping Indians. One squaw fled badly wounded to the forest and a boy whom they intended to keep escaped in the darkness. Triumphantly they gathered up the food and spoils of the camp, packed them in a canoe, scuttled the other canoes to prevent pursuit, and started down-river. Suddenly Hannah, in feminine fashion, realized she had forgotten something, so back they went and removed the scalps from the corpses as proof of their exploit. Hannah evidently had that attribute of genius which leaves nothing to chance.

[1] The *Magnalia* says the escape was April 30, but Sewall heard of it in Boston April 29.

In more senses than one, they were not yet out of the woods. It was nearly a hundred miles to the settlements and the Indians also used the river as a highway. They returned in safety, however, and on May 11, with her husband, Hannah called on the council in Boston to cash in for her ten scalps at the bounty rate. On the petition of her husband £25 was paid to him on her account and £12–10 each to Mary Neff and Samuel Lenerson. Hannah reported that her Indian master had formerly lived in the family of the Reverend Mr. Rowlandson of Lancaster, whose wife had also been an Indian captive.[1]

It seems a pretty bloody affair, but it must be remembered that Hannah had seen her infant murdered before her eyes, her house burned, and doubtless believed that her husband and children had been murdered too. An age of peace and security is not an unprejudiced standpoint from which to view the actions of those who live in an age of blood and terror, and that is why it is useful to follow the minute details of a few of these incidents to realize the point of view of the soldiers who hunted down the Indians so remorselessly. Salem, even with heavy drafts on her man-power, was better off than the farmers on the frontier.[2]

The period between the close of King William's War in 1697 and the outbreak of Queen Anne's War in 1702 was to be only a breathing spell in a quarter of a century of warfare. New England did not know that the contest was to break out again so soon, and the cities and towns set to work without delay to rebuild their industrial and commercial life with that tireless energy for which their religion and social philosophy equipped them.

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[1] Sewall: *Diary*, I, 453.

[2] Chase: *History of Haverhill*, 185–200, gives an excellent account of every detail of the affair with copious notes and references. See also Mirick: *History of Haverhill*, 86–93; M. D. Fairfield: *Diary*.

CHAPTER III

MEN AND AFFAIRS IN 1700

On Tuesday, November 16, Judge Samuel Sewall set out from Boston for the meeting of the Court at Salem.[1] Major-General Wait Winthrop was with him, and no doubt they rode horseback, as was most usual. They may have gone down to the ferry by the Salutation Tavern and so across to Charlestown and then around by Governor Winthrop's Seven Hills Farm in Somerville to Medford, which was the first crossing of the Mystic River, then back through Malden to the road along the westerly edge of the Lynn marshes to the ferry at Saugus across the Saugus River. This was a long route, however, and if the weather was fair and the wind and tide favorable, they probably shortened their ride by sailing up to the Winnisimmet Ferry landing and then rode through Chelsea and Everett to join the same road. It would have taken them four or five hours to make the trip and they doubtless baited their horses at Lewis's Tavern after they had crossed Saugus River. Then they rode through what is now Wyoma to Trask's Upper Mills, near Peabody Square, before turning off the Ipswich Road toward Salem.

Before they had reached Trask's Mills, the sheriff of Essex County probably met them with a suitable escort, for this was the semi-annual court day which had been postponed because the regular day fell on the king's birthday. After leaving Trask's Mills, they rode over the hill along what is now Boston Street, where the Peabody Institute stands, and down into the valley of Strong

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[1] Sewall: *Diary*, 1, 463.

Water Brook. Perhaps they watered their horses as they crossed, or perhaps the judge may have remembered his experience the previous summer when his horse decided to lie down in the brook and may have ridden straight on.

At the top of the hill the Trask burying ground already contained many graves, but it was not the fashionable place of interment, and most of the graves were of those tainted with Quaker heresy. Farther along, the view eastward between the scattering houses opened down the broad estuary of the North River clear of all obstructions to the sea. A keen eye might have seen the horse ferry moving slowly across to Beverly, and perhaps some unfinished vessels recently launched from the shipyard near the Town Bridge might have been at anchor awaiting their rigging.

As they picked their way down the steep hill to the bridge,[1] it is doubtful whether the judge cared to glance to the right up the steep cliff where seven years before the witches, convicted by a court of which he was a member, gave up their lives. To his honor be it said he had already publicly repented of it, but it was not a pleasant memory.

Halfway up the hill toward the town they passed the remains of the old palisade built in King Philip's War, twenty-five years before, to keep the Indians off the peninsula of Salem. Passing the houses of Joshua and Caleb Buffum, they swung into the winding way we know as Essex Street. They were on the backbone of the peninsula, and between the scattering farms could see the North River on their left, with the rough pasture of Ledge Hill beyond, and farther off to the right the broad expanse of the Mill Pond dominated by Castle Hill. Soon they reached the little Quaker meeting-house nearly opposite the home of Roger Derby which stood about where Monroe Street turns off today. This was built by Thomas Maule, an able merchant but incorrigible Quaker, who had even dared to attack the church and the ministry the year before in his book *Truth Held Forth and Maintained*, claimed to have been 'stuffed with many pernicious and notorious lies.' He had been tried in the judge's own court the year before, but he had been declared 'Not guilty' by the jury after making an able defense. 'At which he triumphs,' remarks the irate judge.[1]

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[1] This was about where the Hygrade Lamp Factory now stands.

Thomas Maule, the Quaker, perhaps deserves mention here also, though not with the emphasis which some modern historians consider it necessary to give those who were regarded chiefly as trouble-makers by their own generation. In some ways he was a useful citizen and was justly respected by many fellow citizens. The story of his combat with Elizabeth Haskett while serving as clerk of the market gives an amusing picture of conditions in Salem and implies that the Haskett was the less idealistic root of the Derby family tree.

> The facts are set out in the records of a trial before the Quarterly Court at Ipswich in March, 1706 (*Legal Manuscripts, Miscellaneous, 1636–1898* in Essex Institute).
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> The complaint recites that the poor of Salem had several times complained to Maule, as clerk of the market, that the white bread sold at the shops and by the bakers was short weight and called upon him to act. Consequently, in the summer of 1705 he several times visited the shops, weighed the bread, and found it 'a quarter part or thereabout too light.' Thereupon he seized it for the poor as the law directed. He also went to the bakers, 'peticularly to Elizabeth Haskett,' read to them the provisions of the law, and explained his duties as clerk of the market. Upon asking Mrs. Haskett to let him weigh her bread, she replied that she had none that was underweight, but Constable John West, one of the corroborating witnesses, testified

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[1] Sewall: *Diary*, I, 436.

that there was 'forthwith a grate busling in ye greate room,' and they found there a large basket of penny biscuit. A seizure was attempted, but the proprietress, her two daughters, and her Negro servant gave battle, and the Negro finally made off with the bread.

The poor still complained about the weight of bread in Salem, and on November 30, 1705, Maule, seeing Mrs. Haskett's Negro man in the street with a bag of bread, seized it with the aid of John Cooke, and took it to his own shop to weigh; but the operation was not completed, for the Negro and Mrs. Elizabeth Darby, a daughter of Mrs. Haskett, made a counter-attack and recovered a portion of the bread. However, the portion that was weighed was found to be considerably under weight. These facts were corroborated as to the essentials by a number of witnesses at the trial. In the meantime, Mrs. Haskett filed a complaint against Maule personally for stealing her bread and assaulting her Negro, and gave bond to prosecute the matter at the same term that Maule's official complaint was tried, but no details are to be found among the papers. An allowance of costs to Maule indicates that he won both cases.

Occasionally he refused to join in public undertakings, as, for example, when he was asked by the Salem Committee of the Militia to aid in providing the town with a stock of ammunition and provisions against a time of invasion, but refused in a letter that reminded them that he had never held back from the support of any work among the Salem people when not inconsistent with his religious faith. He accompanied his refusal with a little sermon to the effect that in war, both spiritual and temporal, there is no benefit. (Maule's *Truth Held Forth and Maintained*, p. 175.) Nevertheless, it would be difficult to find a New Englander who joined more lustily or joyfully in spiritual combat.[1]

As the judge and his friends passed Maule's comfortable home, a little below the Quaker meeting-house, Maule may have come to his door to see the cavalcade pass, but it is unlikely that the judge showed any sign of recognition. It is quite likely, however, that if Jonathan Corwin and Deliverance Parkman had paused to chat at the corner of Weld's Lane (now North Street) before entering their respective houses near-by, the judge and the major-general may have stopped for a friendly word of greeting, but only for a moment, for his brother's house was just below at the corner of Sewall Street and he was anxious to finish his journey. There he dismounted while the others continued on down to the Ship Tavern at the head of Central Street. Probably his little niece Susannah, a child of nine, later to be the wife of the Reverend Aaron Porter of Medford, rushed out to greet him ahead of her parents. The judge was much attached to his soldier brother, and their greeting was warm and hearty as they entered the dignified old square house. Only a few of the largest houses of that day had a dining-room apart from the kitchen, so it is likely that the family party took place in the kitchen, which was warmed by a great open fire from which the food could be brought smoking hot to the table.

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[1] From M. B. Jones: *Thomas Maule*, E.I.H.C., LXXII, 7.

Both the judge and his brother had grown up in Newbury and the judge got there oftener than the major, for his duties obliged him to ride down as far as York, Maine, then in the Massachusetts jurisdiction, to hold court, and he always stopped to see his relations going and coming. No doubt he handed along the latest family gossip of births and deaths and of which young man was courting which girl and what the neighbors thought about it. Then he may have sallied forth to call on Mrs. Batter in her home, a few doors down the street, at the corner of the Green, or gone even farther to pay his regards to the widow of his old friend Governor Bradstreet.

Next morning the court sat in the old Court House which stood in the middle of Town House Square, and he was joined not only by Mr. Winthrop but by John Hathorne, Jonathan Corwin, and perhaps Colonel Gedney. No cases of moment seem to have come up, and after the noon meal all adjourned to the meeting-house to hear Mr. Nicholas Noyes deliver the weekly lecture from the text of the sixth verse of the 122d Psalm, 'Pray for the peace of Jerusalem: they shall prosper that love thee.' We do not know what he said, but the judge vouches for the fact that he preached excellently.

After the lecture in the dusk of the short November day, the Reverend John Higginson, then over eighty years of age, and the Reverend John Hale of Beverly, who had come over to hear the lecture, strolled up the street with the judge to Major Sewall's. What a wonderful chance to get the aged pastor to tell of Salem as it was when he landed as a boy of fifteen, the year before the Winthrop fleet arrived, of the hardships of that first winter which cost the lives of so many, and of the changes he had seen in the city! Apparently, however, they never mentioned it, but wasted their time talking of what corresponded to the 'New Deal' and of other ephemeral things of their day. The judge presented Mr. Higginson with a copy of *Phaenomena Quedam Apocalyptica*, his recent publication, and the venerable pastor reciprocated with a *Treatise against Perriwigs* which was never printed. After he had left, Mr. Hale shared the judge's chamber and they discussed a history of witchcraft which Mr. Hale proposed writing, and in which the judge feared he might go to other extremes.

Next day the Judge and his friend Major-General Winthrop started back for Boston, and the judge was much touched because Mr. Higginson walked up to his brother's to bid them farewell. This was no slight trip for the old gentleman, aged eighty-six, for his house faced the Common a little east of where the Roger Conant Monument now stands.

Salem had suffered pretty severely during King William's War. It is true she had escaped the horrors of an Indian massacre and her women and children had escaped Indian captivity, but in one point especially was she particularly vulnerable. All her wealth came from the sea and her trade was based on the fisheries. When Captain John Higginson wrote to his brother in 1697 that 'Of sixty odd fishing ketches belonging to the town but about six are left. I believe no town in this Province has suffered more by this war than Salem,' [1] he stated a sad truth.

At the very beginning of the war, two French frigates gathered in six of these vessels on a single day [2] and carried them into Port Royal. Thirty men were captured with them. A little later the Salem merchants fitted out a ketch for St. John River to bring home some of their men captured in the fishing fleet by a French privateer. This privateer or some other raided the Isles of Shoals and captured some shallops and Major Browne's ketch and took them to the Maine coast, so a couple of vessels were fitted out to go in pursuit.[3] It is to be hoped they found them. These are but samples of the way in which the fishing fleet melted away, and with that fleet went the means of loading larger vessels for the foreign trade whose best cargo had been merchantable codfish.

Early in its career Salem had been made a market town in the sense of the English market towns. Now, an open market implies a considerable number of people each with a surplus of his special commodity, living within easy distance, and each having spare time to enjoy a market day of trade and gossip. This was not the situation in

[1] Felt, 2d, II, 214.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Felt, 1st, 317.

New England, and, moreover, the serious temper of the inhabitants precluded the holiday atmosphere which made a European market day an event. The Sabbath was their real holiday, but English travelers did not understand this, and usually took a crack at Salem Market, as did Edward Ward in 1699:

> They have a Charter for a Fair at Salem but it begins like Ingerstone Market, half a Hour after eleven a Clock, and Ends half an Hour before Twelve: For I never see any thing in it but by great Accident and those were Pumkins which were the chief Fruit that supported the English at their first settling in these parts. But now they enjoy plenty of good Provisions, Fish Flesh and Fowl and are become as great Epicures as ever Din'd at *Pontack's* ordinary.[1]

The tyranny of American women over American men, now so prevalent, had evidently begun in that day, for Ward, in commenting on the witchcraft delusion, says: 'There were formerly amongst them (as they themselves Report) abundance of Witches, and indeed I know not but there may be as many now for the men look still as if they were Hag-ridden.' It is to be feared that Ward was not entirely sympathetic with the Puritan point of view and manner of life. He kept a tavern next to Gray's Inn in London.[2]

Just as the war closed, another disaster struck the town. Most bad fires in eastern Massachusetts occur in June or July. June 28, 1698, was the occasion of the worst fire Salem had yet had. Timothy Lindall, one of the richest merchants, owned the lot on Essex Street where the Peabody Museum now stands, which ran back quite a distance and then westerly to about the corner of Charter and Central Streets, where Ingalls's Cove made in and

[1] Ward: *Trip to New England*, London, 1699.

[2] Dow: *Two Centuries of Travel in Essex County*, 45.

brought him close to the waterfront along Front Street. He had a warehouse on this lot which caught fire and, fanned by a southerly wind, the blaze was soon communicated to his large house and Nehemiah Willoughby's, which stood west of it. It then jumped Essex Street and burned the house of Samuel Prince, slightly east of the corner of Saint Peter Street, and then the house of William Browne which stood east of that. On the south side of Essex Street, it burned the house of Major John Pilgrim, and then that of William Hirst, and would have taken that of the late William Hathorne on the corner of Liberty Street, but that house was blown up and there the conflagration was stopped. Right opposite stood the old Downing house, occupied by the widow of Simon Bradstreet, but fortunately that survived. These houses were all separated by considerable spaces or it would have been less easy to stop the progress of destruction. Five of the best homes in town, however, were thus destroyed, and while the loss was reckoned at £5000, we should probably estimate it at four or five times that today. Of this amount William Browne was supposed to have lost at least £3000.

William Hirst's son married the daughter of Judge Samuel Sewall. The judge happened to be holding court in Salem that day and gives the following terse account of the cause of the fire:

> Tuesday, June 28, 1698. Court at Salem, Major Brown praesident; were remov'd to the Ship Tavern and candles lighted; a cry of Fire was made. A Girl drawing Rum in a little Warehouse of Mr. Lyndon's, or looking after a cask that leak'd, the candle fired it, which took the cask and broke it up with a Report, so catch'd Cotton and fired Mr. Willoughbys house in the Garret of which was a Barrel of Powder, that taking fire blew off the Roof and very much dispersed the flaming partickles; much of which was thrown on Major Brown's house over the way, the wind carrying

> it thither so that and his warehouse were quickly burnt down, and much Money and Goods lost with the Buildings. Five houses in all burnt, Mr. Hirst's for one. This is the first considerable Fire that ever was in Salem. It seems the stroke makes a deep impression on Major Brown. Has lost 3 or four Thousand pounds.[1]

Mr. Hirst, Mr. Lindall, and Mr. Browne immediately began to rebuild larger and finer houses than ever, but Mr. Lindall died before his was finished. Major Pilgrim moved to Barbados and some of his family were still there in 1925.

Salem never stayed depressed very long. The industry of her people and the imagination and aggressiveness of her leaders quickly brought her back to her normal condition. Meanwhile, they did have to think of the poor and ordered the selectmen to hire a work house where the paupers could work to help support themselves.[2] The erring were not forgotten, for a new pair of stocks were provided for them.[3] Daniel Epes, who had served many years as schoolmaster and sent many scholars to the College, retired and Samuel Whitman was chosen. He lasted only six months, and John Emerson of Charlestown came.[4] The school bell was to ring at eight o'clock and four o'clock to begin and end the session from March 1 to November 1, and nothing is said about not working Saturdays.

Daniel Epes, the schoolmaster, had been quite a character in the town and was regarded as the most eminent schoolmaster in New England.[5] He was a graduate of Harvard and moved up from Ipswich.[6] He built a good large house with many gables on the corner of Church and

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[1] 5 M.H.S.C., v, 481.

[2] *Town Records*, meeting of Dec. 6, 1698.

[3] *Town Records*, Feb. 24, 1700/1.

[4] *Town Records*, May 9 and August 25, 1699.

[5] John Dunton: *Journal*, 2 M.H.S.C., II, 118.

[6] E.I.H.C., IV, 189.

Washington Streets of which a picture still exists.[1] He was on friendly terms with all the best people in the town. Ann Bradstreet, the Governor's widow, gave his daughter as a legacy her 'Middle brass Kettle holding eighteen gallons.'[2] He had agreed to 'pforme y^{e} place of a Gramm^{r} Schoolmaster to y^{e} towne Soe Long as itt shall please God to Graunt him Life, health, and ability. To Learn & Instruct all Such Schollers as shall bee Sent to him in English, Latin and Greek,' teach them good manners, and instruct them in the principles of the Christian religion, and so he did for many years.[3] His son was a military officer and a judge, and a friend of Judge Benjamin Lynde.[4]

The three allied basic industries of the town, fishing, shipbuilding, and trade, began to revive. By 1699 twenty-six vessels were registered out of Salem, including two ships of eighty and two hundred tons, one barque, three sloops, and twenty ketches. Most of these did not exceed forty tons.[5] Fourteen of the smaller vessels got passes from the Governor for fishing voyages in 1699, but the whole group amounted to only four hundred and fifty-seven tons and carried seventy-seven men.[6] Still, the industry was starting again and would grow if allowed to.

The old days of the colonial charter with its free and unhampered trade were passing. The British government through its royal governors was beginning to enforce the Navigation Laws and the Laws of Trade, and it was not so easy to evade them as it had been in the old days. In 1696, the affairs of the plantations had been turned over permanently to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, and enforcement of the law began in earnest.[1] Benjamin Gerrish, appointed naval officer in 1684, had had charge of Marblehead, Beverly, Gloucester, Rowley, Ipswich, Newbury, and Salisbury, but after 1700 the General Court enacted that there should be a naval office in every seaport.[2]

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[1] Perley, II, 95.

[2] *Will of Ann Bradstreet*, E.I.H.C., IV, 187.

[3] *Town Records*, E.I.H.C., XLVIII, 167.

[4] *Benjamin Lynde Diaries*, 25, 26.

[5] George F. Cheever: *Commerce of Salem*, E.I.H.C., I, 85.

[6] Felt, 2d, II, 215.

It is interesting to note in the old papers that merchants in Salem were corresponding with men in Barbados, Virginia, Madeira, Bilboa, and England about trade and chances for foreign trade. It looks as if Salem had a pretty hard time scraping together enough exports to support many foreign vessels. The genius of these merchants lay in their ingenuity. Not all the merchandise brought from the West Indies was for New England consumption by any means, nor were all the wines and goods from Spain, Portugal, and England kept here. These outside commodities made it possible to diversify cargoes so that, if the staple, which was codfish, should be found unsalable, a voyage would not necessarily prove a failure.

One of the great dangers of the West Indies trade was the constant risk of bringing in smallpox. In 1701, there was a scare, and when Thomas Marston arrived in the brigantine *Yeorke* he and his crew were ordered to a house on the Neck for quarantine; but Captain Marston's dog seems to have evaded the law, for there was issued to Constable Wakefield a document endorsed, 'Capias and Execution vs. Thomas Marston's Dog charged with smallpox,' directing him 'in his Majesty's name to cause to be killed the said dog and secured under ground.'[3] Smallpox was a serious matter even for dogs.

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[1] E.I.H.C., I, 119.

[2] *Province Records*, Felt, 1st, 334.

[3] *Files of Court of General Sessions*, E.I.H.C., XI, 239.

Shipbuilding was still a dominant industry,[1] and most of it went on along back of Norman and Summer Streets. Of the vessels registered from Salem in 1698–99, seventeen had been built in Salem including the largest, a ship of two hundred tons. In 1705, a ship of three hundred and seventy tons was built in Salem, which was a very large vessel for those days.[2] There are no pictures in existence of ships which can be identified as Salem-built, but we know that the vessels found a ready market in Spain and England and must have been considered excellent merchandise, especially as the customer knew they had successfully weathered the Atlantic before he accepted them.

At the close of the century, Salem lost in a single year several of its notable men. The most distinguished was Bartholomew Gedney, who lived on Summer Street about opposite Broad Street, and was a public man of high standing and character. As a judge he had a hand in the witchcraft trials. He was often a deputy to the General Court, an assistant and a councillor. He was also a military officer of high repute. He commanded the South Essex Regiment in active service, and was also commander-in-chief of the county forces and a member of the military committee of the colony. He owned half of the Ship Tavern, a sawmill on Casco Bay, and acquired considerable other property. As he was less than sixty years old, he should have continued his career of usefulness.[3] His gravestone, even then barely legible, was standing in 1860 in the Charter Street Burial Ground. His most notable descendant was Lord Fairfax through his daughter Deborah.[4]

Roger Derby, the ancestor of all the Derby clan, died in this year also. He settled first in Ipswich, but early moved to Salem. His house was on Essex Street, near Monroe Street. Though he started his career in Salem as a soap boiler, he graduated into the position of a merchant with a warehouse at the lower end of Norman Street. He never held any public office, probably because he was of the Quaker persuasion. He was a worthy but not a distinguished public man. His great contribution to the city and commonwealth is the group of distinguished and honorable men and women who are descended from him.

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[1] See Appendix C, p. 463.
[2] Sewall: *Diary*, II, 156.
[3] Felt, 1st, 330.
[4] H. F. Waters: *Gedney and Clarke Families*, E.I.H.C., XVI, 249; A. C. Goodell, E.I.H.C., II, 223.

Timothy Lindall came to Salem from Duxbury in the Plymouth Colony, but he lived in Salem for more than thirty years and was a successful shipowner and merchant and married into the Veren family of Salem. When he died he was worth £1740, which was a large estate for those times. His property included even some land in what is now Portland, Maine.[1] He had seen public service as a deputy in the General Court, of which he was Speaker, and as a selectman. Though none of his direct male descendants are now notable in the history of the city, the Pickman family is descended from one of his daughters.[2]

The other distinguished citizen to pass away was John Ruck. He was connected with the Prices, Gerrishes, Croads, and Gedneys by marriage. Originally a vintner by trade and later a merchant, he lived on the creek near the foot of Norman Street, and that part of town was often called Ruck's Village.[3] Less distinguished than the others, he was still a useful citizen and in his death a loss to the town. Judge Sewall does not mention the death of any of these men in his diary, but he surely would have mentioned Gedney, with whom he had often been closely

[1] Willis: *History of Portland*, 295.

[2] E.I.H.C., vi, 95.

[3] H. F. Waters, E.I.H.C., xvi, 252.

associated in the government, had it not been that Gedney died in such inclement weather [1] that the news probably did not reach Boston till so long after the event as to make less impression. The worthy judge seemed to take a ghoulish pleasure in recording the decease of his friends and neighbors, and would not ordinarily have overlooked the chance to describe a funeral.

The group left in town was a pretty vigorous and rugged one. There were a number of public men who took an active part in the affairs of the town and colony, military men who did active service against the Indians and in organizing the Canadian expeditions, and finally a large group of merchants and sea captains who ran the commerce and did it efficiently. In the first years of the century the same names are conspicuous in public affairs as in the earlier days. The Honorable William Browne, Sr., George Corwin, and William Hathorne had left worthy successors who firmly carried on the Puritan tradition in religion, government, and commerce.

The Honorable William Browne, Jr., was a councillor for many years and helped to guide the provincial affairs with the temperate skill his father had shown. He was a prosperous merchant with a house on Essex Street and a farm, or at least a summer place, at Castle Hill across the Mill Pond. His first wife was Hannah Corwin, by whom he had four children, who survived him. His son Samuel became conspicuous in town affairs, and his daughter Mary, as the wife of Benjamin Lynde, Sr., became the mother of a prominent family. The family fortune lost nothing in William Browne's keeping, and when he died he left many thousand pounds. He did much to start the American tradition of benevolence, for his bequests include gifts to the ministers and the church, to the poor, to a free grammar school, and to Harvard College. Many of these foundations are still in existence in the city and college and still bear his name.[1]

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[1] Sewall: *Diary*, I, 472.

His brother Benjamin died in 1708, a few years before him, and almost the same may be said of him as of William. He endowed the same charities as his brother with equal liberality, but none of his children survived him, so much of his fortune went to his nephews and nieces and to his sister, who was the wife of Wait Winthrop, the grandson of the governor. It is a curious fact that the two Browne brothers were often councillors at the same time,[2] showing the confidence which the people must have had in the integrity of the family.

John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin were two more of the first generation of the native-born who often held the office of councillor and other high positions in the town and province. John Hathorne was in his younger days an active military officer against the Indians and did good service. He was also a conspicuous member of the First Church. He married Ruth Gardner, daughter of that Captain John who moved to Nantucket from Salem,[3] and was the direct ancestor of Nathaniel Hawthorne. Jonathan Corwin had no sons, but his daughter Elizabeth married James Lindall and became connected with the Pickmans thereby. Both Corwin and Hathorne had been connected with the witchcraft delusion rather prominently, but they appear not to have lost the confidence of their fellow citizens.

John Higginson, the son of the old pastor, was another able merchant and public servant. Often a member of the council and colonel of the South Essex Regiment, he showed himself a useful citizen. His letters to his brother reflect a strong character with affectionate family feeling.[1] Perhaps his father's estimate of him is worth quoting: 'By his singular prudence and industry he has attained a competent estate.... He is a worthy good man and well accepted of all men and the staff and stay of my old age.[2] Little more or better could be said of any man.

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[1] Felt, 1st, 361.

[2] In 1701 and 1703.

[3] *Gardner Memorial*, 28, 49.

All of these men were gone before 1720, but for the first few years of the century they were the public leaders, and they were surely an able group. But there were many others who had not, at least as yet, risen quite so high, but who still filled their places in the community well.

Major Stephen Sewall, the son of one of the later arrivals, reached New England when only four years old and lived in Newbury. He entered Harvard College, but like many other men distinguished and otherwise, failed to get through. He married and settled in Salem on the corner of Essex and Sewall Streets, which last still bears his name. There he and his wife, Margaret Mitchell of Cambridge, had seventeen children, of whom five sons and four daughters grew up, and his son, Stephen, became chief justice of the Supreme Court. Major Stephen himself was selectman, clerk of the court, register of deeds, and a military officer of distinction as well as a merchant with a wharf of his own.

John Dunton, the London bookseller, gives a glowing description of him when he visited Salem: 'The entertainment he gave me was truly noble and generous and my lodging so extraordinary both with respect unto the largeness of the room and richness of the furniture as might have entertained a king.... He is a person whose purse is great but his heart is greater, etc.' This description should be taken with a pinch of salt, for Dunton was not above cribbing high-sounding descriptions of English worthies and applying them to his New England friends.[1] There are portraits of Stephen Sewall and his wife in the Essex Institute. His relations with his brother, Judge Samuel Sewall, the diarist, were close and friendly and the judge often refers to him.[2] Probably his military career impressed his contemporaries most vividly, for he was buried with full military honors in the southeast corner of the Broad Street Burying Ground.[3]

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[1] *Higginson Letters*, 3 M.H.S.C., VII, 197–217.

[2] *Ibid.*, 199.

Another military man was Captain Simon Willard, the son of Simon Willard of Concord, who had been an officer in King Philip's War and a fur-trader on the Concord and Nashua Rivers. Captain Willard lived in the old house still standing on Essex Street and now usually called the Narbonne House.[4] He had married, first, Martha Jacob of Ipswich, and moved to Salem about 1681.[5] He was a deacon of the church and a captain of the foot company, doing good service against the Indians. He was a weaver and a cloth worker, and it may be worth while to mention that neither he nor his father made the clocks, which were a much later production.

The gentleman later known as 'the Honorable Colonel John Turner, Esq., of His Majesty's Council,' but at this time just plain Major Turner, was a military man of importance. He commanded a troop of horse at one time and may have had them at Haverhill, though the account does not mention cavalry. Turner Street was his father's lane and the House of the Seven Gables was probably his birthplace. The family fortunes did not suffer in the Honorable John's hands, and when he died in 1742 his estate of £10,752 included everything from fifty-eight acres on Baker's Island through ships, molasses, and silver plate (worth £534) to three negro slaves and half of the Town House cellar![1] It is clear that he was a merchant and shipowner and looked to the sea, especially to the Barbados trade, for his profits, but he salted them down on dry land.

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[1] Greenough: *Col. Soc. of Mass. Pub.*, XIV, 213–50.

[2] Felt, 1st, 381.

[3] Goodell: *Biog. Notices*, E.I.H.C., III, 3.

[4] Number 71 Essex Street.

[5] E.I.H.C., IV, 190; Perley, III, 171. Perley seems to have omitted one of his wives.

Deacon Peter Osgood was a conspicuous citizen. He came to Salem from Andover after marrying one of the Haverhill Ayers, and established a tannery. He was long a faithful supporter of the church and also a representative in the General Court. He lived on the cove which made in where Hawthorne Boulevard now is. He died in 1753 at the age of ninety, so he might easily have known in the course of his long life both men who came with Endecott and men who lived to see Washington inaugurated!

There were many other able men, some of whom can be mentioned under their special vocations, but it is clear that the group in charge of affairs was a very efficient one and that the town was certain to progress mentally, spiritually, and materially.

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[1] Streeter: *Historic Streets*, E.I.H.C., XXXVI, 207–09; Moriarty: *Turner Family*, E.I.H.C., XLVIII, 263.

CHAPTER IV

PIRATES OFF THE COAST!

THE world was opening up in 1700. The voyage across the Atlantic had begun to lose its terrors. French ships came regularly to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. English ships annually visited all the ports of America from Newfoundland to Virginia. Spanish ships came to the islands of the West Indies and the ports of the Spanish Main, and English ships traded regularly with Barbados, Jamaica, and the English islands. Portuguese vessels went to the ports of Brazil.

Across on the other shore of the Atlantic, the stately ships of the British East India Company sailed south to round the Cape of Good Hope and traded to the ports of India, where they held a monopoly of all English trade, though the Dutch, Portuguese, and Spanish went that way also. In short, all the oceans but the Pacific were pretty well known, and it could not have been difficult to find men who had navigated all these known shores. Moreover, contact between New England and India had already been established *via* Barbados through the fact that some East India ships must have swung across the Atlantic to touch there on their way home to England.[1] Ships were already collecting negro slaves on the coast of Africa for the plantations of the West Indies and America.[2]

The difference between privateering and piracy was not very great in a world not patrolled by responsible fleets, and where communication was so slow, uncertain, and infrequent that what happened half the world away did not become known at home till a year or even two or three years later, and a voyage that brought home rich loot might be looked on as legal just as well as illegal if nobody told.

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[1] Higginson to Collet, Aug. 20, 1697, 3 M.H.S.C., VII, 204.

[2] *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies*, 1702–03; Captain Tew.

So, if Thomas Tew, perhaps a daredevil young scion of a reputable Newport family, but probably an English relative, could get some respectable people of Rhode Island to outfit him with a stout sloop and the governor to give him a privateer's commission, what did it matter where he went so long as he came back with his ship full of gold and divided it fairly with the respectable neighbors of the late Roger Williams? A commission to take a French factory in Gambia promised much blood and little loot, so why not off and away to the coast of Arabia, where gold was plentiful and fighting easy? If in the process you joined forces with a famous French pirate and stole the jewels of the Great Mogul and a lot of his gold and lived a happy care-free life for a couple of years in a tropical port with an assortment of white, yellow, and brown wives to make things less lonesome, it must be admitted it furnished a change from Puritan New England.[1] The gold of the Great Mogul helped materially to square things with the good people in Rhode Island, and Frederick Phillips of New York was ready and willing to help Tew out with a ship for a second voyage, which they christened the *Frederick* and which John Higginson of Salem wrote his brother Nathaniel had netted said Phillips £100,000.[2] Now, John Higginson probably knew more about this than might be expected of a Puritan gentleman, for, much to the grief of his honored father, Thomas, the wayward son of the worthy minister, had gone before 1696 to Arabia with these privateers or some others,[3] and it is likely from the family familiarity with the Phillips trip [4] that he went with Tew, but whether he died of fever or was beheaded by an Arabian swordsman, his family never learned; anyway, he never returned. An Arab cannon ball finally clipped off the point of Tew's belly, and he never returned either.

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[1] Dow and Edmonds: *Pirates of the New England Coast*, 84–88.

[2] 3 M.H.S.C., VII, 209.

[3] *Ibid.*, 199.

[4] *Ibid.*, 209.

Every schoolboy of the New England coast has sometime dug for Captain Kidd's treasure, but few realize that Kidd was a respectable gentleman of Greenock, Scotland, and the son of a worthy clergyman. He had cruised off the New England coast with a commission from Governor Bradstreet.[1] The Earl of Bellomont, governor of Massachusetts, three of His Majesty's secretaries of state, and Robert Livingston of New York later became his sponsors when he sailed to Madagascar in pursuit of that able pirate Tew, among others. The noble lords were to get four-fifths of the gains and Livingston and Kidd were to have the remainder. Strange rumors drifted back from the Indian Ocean. The East India Company complained of Kidd's alleged performances. He had captured two Moorish ships alleged to carry French passes, and stories of fabulous wealth were abroad when word came to Governor Bellomont that Kidd was off Block Island. There was a strange conflict of emotions, whether to welcome Kidd as a returning partner and share the loot or arrest him as a pirate and send him (and the loot) to London under the King's proscription. Duncan Campbell, the postmaster of Boston, and John Emmet, the New York lawyer who brought the news, were dispatched in a sloop to hunt for Kidd, with a promise that the governor would seek a pardon for him and not take the loot. Kidd picked up his wife and children, who lived in New York, left some of his treasure on Gardiner's Island, east of Long Island, and came along to Boston. Presently he was clapped into jail and remained there, though two associates, Joseph Bradish and Tee Witherby, got loose for a while by the help of Kate Price, a lady friend, and were captured again.[1] One thousand pounds in gold dust and nuggets of Kidd's loot were found, and even Mrs. Kidd's spoons were seized (though afterwards returned). Finally, seven months later a frigate arrived to take what old Judge Sewall invariably calls the 'pirats' to England. Kidd's career ended at Execution Dock on the Thames a few months later.

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[1] 3 M.H.S.C., 1, 122.

Kidd was probably not so bad as he was painted, and his adventures have been the subject of considerable dispute. Whether or not he was entirely guilty of piracy is not quite clear, but he led a wild life and probably planted some of his loot in the West Indies before he came north.[2] John Hathorne of Salem was the chairman of the committee which Governor Bellomont appointed to consider pirates, privateers, post-offices, and kindred subjects!

Salem's real piratical excitement came over the capture of John Quelch, and he was surely a bold local buccaneer. At least one of his crew, John Lambert, was a Salem man, and his capture involved most of Essex County. Charles Hobby (later Sir Charles), Colonel Paige, and a number of other respectable citizens of Boston fitted out the brigantine *Charles* of eighty tons to go privateering at the mouth of the St. Lawrence. She outfitted at Marblehead in the summer of 1703 under Captain Daniel Plowman, but, before she was ready, he seems to have realized the kind of crew he had and, as he was ill, he wrote the owners to come to Marblehead and watch their interests. One of them came, found the captain too ill to see him, and was evidently fooled by the crew into thinking things were all right. Before anything more could be done, the brigantine sailed away under John Quelch, the mate, and she sailed southward instead of north. They tossed poor Captain Plowman overboard and headed for Brazil, where they captured nine Portuguese vessels. As Portugal was at peace with England, this was pure piracy. Quelch got over one hundred pounds of gold dust and £1000 in specie, as well as much other loot, and returned to Marblehead in May, 1704, whence the crew began to scatter with their pockets full of money. Of course the facts were not known, and when it was announced that Quelch had made a good voyage, it was assumed all was correct.[1] The owners had been suspicious, however, and had written their correspondents in the West Indies for information, which soon came. They notified the authorities, and Paul Dudley, the attorney-general, was sent to Marblehead to seize Quelch and his crew. Dudley seems to have been doing his best to round up the scattering crew and had caught one, when he met Judge Sewall, who was returning from Newbury with his son and daughter, at Lewis's Tavern in Lynn. Dudley presented his pirate and the judge ordered him to Boston in charge of a couple of deputy sheriffs.[2] In a few days Dudley had secured Quelch and six others, but the rest were still abroad and the acting governor issued a proclamation for their arrest. Meanwhile, they were scattering far and wide; one had reached Piscataqua and five were in Newport, Rhode Island.

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[1] Sewall: *Diary*, I, 498; II, 4, note.

[2] 3 M.H.S.C., VII, 209, 210.

Almost two weeks after the meeting at Lewis's Tavern, Judge Sewall, Colonel Byfield, and Mr. Palmer were ordered to Marblehead to hold a court of inquiry, 'to search for and seize Pirats and their Treasure.' They started off at once for Marblehead with a couple of officers by way of Salem, which they reached at eight in the evening. They stayed there for the night and probably the judge put up with his brother, the major, for Colonel Byfield, who no doubt went to the tavern, picked up the news from Samuel Wakefield, the customs officer, that there was a rumor along the waterfront that Captain Larrimore of Cape Ann had joined forces with some of the pirates and they were going to use his vessel.[1] Now this Larrimore had previously been a respectable privateersman, for in 1702, Captain Thomas Larrimore, 'of a Private man of war and Company in this present war,' had captured from the French a square-sterned ship of seventy tons condemned at Salem Admiralty Court September 26, 1702, and later owned by Andrew Belcher, Jeremiah Dummer, and John Bonus of Boston, Samuel and John Browne of Salem, merchants, and Benjamin Pickman, who was the master.[2] Wakefield was given a warrant to look into it, and the judges went on their way to Marblehead next morning in spite of rain. They held their court by Captain Browne's fireside, and no doubt enjoyed a quiet night, little thinking what was ahead of them. Major Stephen Sewall went to Marblehead with them, but returned during the day to Salem.

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[1] *Boston News Letter*, May 22, 1704.

[2] Sewall: *Diary*, 5 M.H.S.C., VI, 102.

The judges were sleeping peacefully at six o'clock next morning when an express arrived on horseback in hot haste from Cape Ann, an all-night ride. The judges rose at once. A bunch of pirates fully armed had been located in a lonely house at Cape Ann. Here was armed defiance of authority — what was to be done? The judges at once sent for Colonel Legg, of the South Essex Regiment, and directed him to order the northward companies, presumably Salem, Beverly, and Manchester, to march on Cape Ann along the north shore. They wrote an order to Colonel Wainwright of Ipswich to move on Cape Ann from the north and told the messenger to show the order to Captain Fisk of Wenham as he went.

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[1] Sewall: *Diary*, 5 M.H.S.C., VI, 103–06.

[2] Affidavit in *Mass. Archives*, VI, 209.

As soon as this was done, the judges rode to Salem and got more information from Doctor Gatchiman (probably Ghatman), whom they sent to the Governor to make a report. Major Sewall took the *Trial*, a good shallop, and, together with his own pinnace, conveyed his company to Cape Ann by water. Mr. Dudley and Colonel Legg had already gone in the same way from Marblehead, but the judge and Colonel Byfield, escorted by Sheriff Gedney and Captain Turner with some of his troop of horse, proceeded by the shore road, while Lieutenant Brisco of Beverly with some of his troopers went by way of Chebacco. The Manchester company was mustering on top of a rock as they reached there and, after shaking hands with the captain, they marched on. It looked as if the whole force of the southern part of Essex County was closing in as they reached Annisquam River, where a message from Mr. Dudley and Colonel Legg reached them that Larrimore had sailed that morning after taking on board the pirates. The military concentration was in vain, so messengers were sent to turn back the Ipswich and Salem troops, and the judges sat down to wait the arrival of Major Sewall in his shallop and pinnace.

When the naval forces arrived and had had dinner, it was decided to go after the pirates, but then the trouble began. One Abbot was selected as captain, but the men did not seem to want to go with him. Captain Herrick wanted his troopers excused. Finally, Major Sewall stepped forward and then Captain Turner and Lieutenant Brisco, and soon forty good men had volunteered and, with three good cheers for the judge and his party, rowed off down the harbor, as there was no wind.

Mr. Dudley went back to Salem with the Beverly troop, but the two judges, who had been riding hard since six that morning when they were wakened at Marblehead by the express, stayed at Cape Ann and did what they could by getting the Reverend Mr. White to pray night and morning for the success of the expedition.

They made an early start and got back to Salem soon after nine. Judge Sewall dined at his brother's and found his sister-in-law much worried. The wickedness of the gang they were after and their great guns and armament terrified the poor woman, and all agreed there was likely to be bloodshed. The judge comforted her as best he could and then rode away for Boston.[1]

The expedition was a great success. The pirates were traced to the Isles of Shoals and Major Sewall reached there next morning at seven. The pirates started to prepare for fight, but Major Sewall, by presenting a firm front, got hold of Larrimore and made him see the uselessness of it and captured them all, there being seven pirates with forty-five ounces of gold among them, as well as Larrimore's men. It seems this Larrimore had picked up the pirates off Snake Island at the head of the Cape, but two of the nine did not get aboard. As the expedition came back, it landed its Gloucester volunteers there with strict orders to search for the missing ones. By the eleventh the major had got his prisoners back to Salem and on the thirteenth had delivered them to the jail in Boston and turned the gold over to the treasurer.[2] The dying utterances of the pirates are recorded in a broadside.[3]

A Salem poet was moved to eulogize the pirates thus:

Ye pirates who against God's laws did fight
Have all been taken which is very right

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[1] Sewall: *Diary*, 5 M.H.S.C., VI, 105.

[2] *Boston News Letter*, June 9 to 16, 1704.

[3] M.H.S.C., LXXV, 265.

Some of them were old and others young
But on the flats of Boston all were hung.[1]

Major Stephen Sewall of Salem was obviously the real hero of this whole adventure, and it is pleasant to read in the *News Letter*, 'The service of Major Sewall and Company was very well Accepted and Rewarded by the Governor.'

This was not, unfortunately, the end of all piracy for Salem shipmasters, for they continued to suffer for many years to come. In 1718, Salem members of the crew of the ship *Hopewell* told the following story:[2]

> bound from Island of Barbadoes to Saltatuda Missing of y^{t} Island and ffalling to Leward we Shaped our Course for Some of y^{e} Bohema Islands in hopes to get Salt there, but nigh y^{e} Island of Hispaniola we Unhappily mett with a pirate being a sloop of between thirty and fforty Men, one Cap^{t} Charles Commander his Sirname we could not Learn, they took us, boarded us and Abused Severall of us Shamefully, and took what Small Matters we had even our very Cloathes and particularly Beat and Abused our Mate, whose name was James Logun of Charlestowne and him they fforceably carryed away with them & threatened his life if he would not go, which they were y^{e} more Earnest for Insomuch as they had no artist on board as we understood having a little before that time, had an Engagem^{t} with a Ship of fforce y had killed Severall of y^{m}

Presumably the sort of artist they wanted was rather a navigator, an armorer, or a carpenter.

Next year Captain Shattock, of the brig *Endeavor*, reported:[3]

> within sight of one of y^{e} Bohemia Islands known by y^{e} Name of Long Island at 3 of y^{e} Clock afternoon he unhapily met with a Pyrat being a Brigg of 12 Gunns & one

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[1] Quoted in Ralph D. Paine: *Ships and Shipmasters*, 44.

[2] E.I.H.C., XLIV, 92.

[3] E.I.H.C., XLIV, 152.

> hundred & Twenty men one Cap^{t} Charles Vain Comand^{r} who tooke me & kept me about four Days carried me to an Island called Crooked Island plundred & Rifled me of Seuerall hhds of rum a parcel of Brittish Merchandize fiue barr^{lls} powder 30 sides of leather 84 pewter Dishes & y^{e} most of our provisions stript y^{e} Brigg of what Sūted them tooke away my Clearing Certificats & other papers of vallue stript my people of thier Clothes & abused Some of them & it growing Late in y^{e} year hard blowing winter weather by that time we got vpon y^{e} coast of New Eng. being so hindred & disinabled as afores^{d} that we could not get in but were forc't off from y^{e} coast & so went to y^{e} West Indies again viz Barbados & there refitted & then set sayl for New England again where we ariued y^{e} 2^{d} Day of Aprill last and not before.

This might be all right in the West Indies, but it was not so safe in Salem Bay, and when John Philip, a notorious pirate, captured Andrew Haraden's sloop *Squirrel* in sight of Cape Ann, he made a tactical error. He decided that the *Squirrel* was the better ship of the two, so transferred Haraden's men to his own ship and turned them adrift. He took Haraden with him, however, and that able citizen promptly organized a mutiny among the pirates. Some were killed, some thrown overboard, and in ten days Haraden had sailed his sloop back into Annisquam with Philip's head hanging at the masthead.[1] One of the pirates who aided in the mutiny was John Fillmore, great-grandfather of the President, and the Haraden name lost nothing in reputation, from the exploits of the Haraden of two or three generations later.[2]

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[1] Dow and Edmonds: *Pirates of the New England Coast*, 311.

[2] See p. 411.

CHAPTER V

QUEEN ANNE'S WAR

Queen Anne was barely seated on the throne of England before she was involved in the war with Spain and France, called in Europe the War of the Spanish Succession, but known in this country as Queen Anne's War. This meant, after an interval of only four years, another ten years of Indian massacres and French raids, and the brunt of it was to fall on Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts. The friendly Iroquois in New York State protected to a large extent New York and Pennsylvania which otherwise might have suffered, but New England had no buffer state, so her own frontiersmen and fishermen had to meet the attack face to face.

Moreover, the French were more numerous, better organized, and more energetic than ever before. Louis the Fourteenth was at the height of his power, and his energetic government was felt to the extremities of his wide domain. It is true that Frontenac, the builder of the French power in North America, had passed away, but Vaudreuil, the new governor of Canada, was not lacking in either energy or astuteness. The Jesuit missionaries, Bigot on the Penobscot and Rasle at Norridgewock [1] on the Kennebec, had made marked progress with the Indians, and a large part of those who made the bloodthirsty attacks on the English settlers were converts of these Jesuits.[2] The contemporary historians claim that the Indians were told it was a virtue to murder heretics and that it was the English who had crucified Christ! [3]

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[1] Parkman: *Half Century of Conflict*, I, 217.

[2] *Ibid.*, 47.

[3] Niles: *History*, 4 M.H.S.C., V, 362.

The French had never relinquished their claim to the coast from the Bay of Fundy to the Kennebec, and while the claim had been temporarily abandoned at the Peace of Ryswick, it was a sore spot and the French viewed with marked hostility settlements in the debatable ground.

The chance to keep the Indians peaceful was not neglected by Governor Joseph Dudley, who had recently arrived. June 9, 1703, he and the lieutenant-governor set out for Casco to meet the Indian chiefs on June 20.[1] Sachems from Penacook (Concord, New Hampshire), Pigwacket (Conway, New Hampshire), Norridgewock (Maine), and Penobscot were present, including the bloodthirsty Hopewood and Bomazeen. They held a great Pow-Wow [2] and arrived at an agreement for peace,[3] but it did not last and was not intended to last by the Indians; for, as Vaudreuil wrote the French ministry, as the Jesuits watched the savages the treaty would not be concluded.[4] This treaty possibly delayed the outbreak of hostilities while preparations for the meeting were under way, but not much longer.

On August 10, 1703, some five hundred Indians and a few French under Beaubassin fell upon the Eastern settlements from Casco back as far as Wells and slew the inhabitants with varying degrees of brutality. Twenty or thirty people were killed or captured in each, and the settlements were practically wiped out with little loss to the Indians save at Casco and Wells.[5] Major John March of Newbury, a man of great strength and courage, commanded at Casco, and, when the Indians beguiled him from his fort under pretense of conference and treacherously attacked him, he beat off his assailants and got back. The subsequent attack on the fort might have succeeded, for a six days' siege was kept up, including an attempt to undermine the fort on the water side, but Captain Cyprian Southack suddenly turned up with the *Province Galley*, which comprised the entire Massachusetts navy of the time, and drove them off. He retook a shallop they had captured and destroyed many of their two hundred canoes. Some five hundred or more savages took part in this attack, and Major March, of the North Essex Regiment, of whose thirty-six men no doubt most came from Essex County, certainly made a very brave and determined defense.[1] He was wounded along with nine others and the surgeon of the *Province Galley* took care of them most of the summer. It is interesting to note that the wounded included two women: 'William Webb's wife and widow Abigail Viny.' [2]

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[1] Sewall: *Diary*, I, 80.

[2] Penhallow: *Indian Wars*, 16.

[3] See Sewall: *Diary*, I, 85.

[4] Vaudreuil et Beauharnais au Ministre, 1703.

[5] Niles: *History*, 3 M.H.S.C., VI, 248.

Captain Willard of Salem and Captain Wells happened to be at Black Point in two sloops when the Indians attacked that place, and encouraged a stubborn defense after the first surprise in which nineteen men were killed, and finally rescued the remaining garrison.[3] Two expeditions of considerable size sent into the Indian country proved fruitless, but a third expedition under March to Pigwacket resulted in the killing of six Indians. This March, now a colonel, was an interesting man. He had been captain of a Newbury company and lived probably near the river in Newburyport and operated the ferry to Salisbury. He moved with all his possessions to Casco. In the attack he lost his sloop and furniture, eighty-nine head of sheep and cattle, and sixteen acres of wheat, corn, and peas, all valued at over five hundred pounds. He sold his ferry rights on the Merrimack to the town of Newbury in 1705, so presumably he never returned to Essex County.[1] The distinguished Colonel March was put in charge of one of the more important expeditions of the war, namely, the expedition against Port Royal which left Nantasket Roads in May, 1707. It was headed by the *Deptford*, a British ship of fifty guns, and the *Province Galley* of twenty-four guns.[2] Among the transports were three from Essex County, including the *Hope* of Salem commanded by Samuel Waters. There were also thirty-six whaleboats, of which several were from Essex. The pilots included a lot of Salem men, among others Humphrey Woodbury and Samuel Lambert.[3] The land forces were more largely from the Essex regiments than from any others, and Captain Jonathan Putnam was present with a Salem company. Colonel Wainwright and Lieutenant-Colonel Appleton of Ipswich were the field officers of the first regiment. Mr. Daniel Epes of Salem and John Barnard, later of Marblehead, were two of the chaplains.[4]

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[1] Penhallow: *Indian Wars*, 20; Parkman: *Half Century of Conflict*, I, 46.

[2] *Mass. Archives*, LXII, 459, 461. See Tapley: *Province Galley*, E.I.H.C., LVIII, 80.

[3] Penhallow: *Indian Wars*, 22.

The expedition was not a very glorious one, for, while the troops reached Port Royal and landed there, they did not push home the attack and presently returned to Casco Bay, where they were met by three commissioners from Boston, who ordered them back to Port Royal. Back they went, but did little harm and soon sailed for Boston.

There was great criticism of the expedition, and a court-martial was ordered, but never met. Captain Shikley, of the *Deptford*, said that the place was too strong to be taken by raw men. March retained the confidence of Governor Dudley, but his spirit was broken.[1]

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[1] Coffin: *Newbury*, 170, 171.

[2] E.I.H.C., LVIII, 84.

[3] *Mass. Archives*, LXXI, 316.

[4] John Barnard: *Diary*, 3 M.H.S.C., v, 190.

A somewhat acrimonious discussion was carried on during the war as to who should repair the fort on Winter Island, which then rejoiced in the name of Fort Ann. In 1706, the governor ordered the repairs, and the town meeting, June 24, declined to comply with his instructions,[2] pleading that the maintenance of the fort was a provincial expense just as much as that of the fort in Boston and they desired the governor to have it repaired. As they were still debating the matter in 1711,[3] it is fortunate that no hostile attack occurred during the war.

Much of the ten years' struggle is too remotely connected with Salem to justify tracing in this narrative, but it is well to remember that Salem was not so far behind the firing-line as not to feel vividly what was going on. Colonel Schuyler at Albany heard in the spring of 1706 that a party of two hundred and seventy French and Indians was bound for our frontier, but little seems to have been done, and July 3 the first blow fell on Dunstable, which might have been pretty fatal to the savages if the garrison had been alert.[4] Scattering bands then attacked Amesbury, Kingston, Exeter, Chelmsford, Sudbury, and Groton. The nearest raid to Salem was at Reading, where they killed a woman and three of her children and carried off the other four. The neighborhood was raised so quickly, however, that the Indians had to abandon, not only the captives and plunder, but even their own blankets in order to escape.[5] All Indian attacks in the old narratives are described as surprises, and as one reads them grouped in a narrative, it seems as if the element of surprise could have been eliminated, but it must be remembered that an attack on Wells, Maine, did not seem very close to Dunstable, and that except at certain spots, attacks came at intervals of five or ten years. It is hard to be constantly vigilant over such long periods of time. It must be said that the colonists rallied quickly, and often pursued the Indians with tremendous vigor after an attack. This forced the Indians to push their attack and be off in an hour or two to the shelter of the woods. Winter raids grew less numerous because the broad snowshoe trail could be easily followed, and the hardy farmers, once they became proficient, could run the Indians down. The frontier companies like those in Haverhill were equipped with snowshoes.

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[1] Hutchinson, II, 152.

[2] *Town Records.*

[3] *Town Records*, Aug. 10, 1711.

[4] Farmer and Moore: *Collections*, II, 303, 304; Penhallow: *Indian Wars*, 43, 44.

[5] Penhallow: *Indian Wars*, 46.

The method of distributing the soldiers in groups of two or three among the farmhouses does not seem to have been very successful, and often the soldiers acted with less resolution than the farmers themselves. This system of billeting may have been the only possible method of housing the soldiers, but it must have made it impossible to rally a company promptly and to act with the vigor that competent leadership would have brought. No competent military commander could have enjoyed having his force scattered over three or four square miles. As is shown in Captain Samuel Ayer's action at Haverhill, described below, a company of even forty men, lodged in one place with alert guards and ready at a minute's notice to move in concerted action, could have inflicted great damage on any raiding party when they scattered to attack separate houses.

In the spring of 1708, after the province learned that a body of eight hundred French and Indians was on the way to attack some point of the three hundred miles of frontier, at least an attempt was made to meet the attack. Major Turner, Captain Price, and Captain Gardner, with at least forty men, troopers and foot, from Salem, were sent to Haverhill, August 11, by order of Governor Dudley.[1] In the course of the summer, one hundred and eighty soldiers with thirty-one horses crossed the ferry at the village.[2] Captain Coffin was stationed between Kingston and Cocheco (Dover), and the New Hampshire defense was stiffened with four hundred Massachusetts militia.

On August 29, the blow fell at Haverhill. The first alarm came from John Keezar, who, returning from Amesbury, sighted the attacking party just at daybreak and fled into the village. He fired his gun to alarm the town, but the Indians appeared too soon to enable the people to organize any resistance. Under the French officers the Indians divided to attack the houses which stood near the new meeting-house at the head of the present Common. The house of the Reverend Benjamin Rolfe, the minister, which stood where the High School now is, was the first attacked. Mr. Rolfe leaped from bed and tried to hold the front door, but was shot through the door, chased through the house, and murdered in the back yard. Three cowardly soldiers now came down from a bedroom and were slain, but Hagar, a negro slave, popped two of the children under some tubs and saved them. One of these became the mother-in-law of Samuel Adams, the patriot. Mrs. Rolfe was murdered with a tomahawk. Similar scenes took place at the houses of Thomas Hartshorne, Lieutenant Johnson, and Mr. Silver. They also killed Captain Wainwright before his door, but the soldiers in his house fired upon them and Mrs. Wainwright escaped with most of her children. They attacked the house of

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[1] Rev. Joseph Green: *MS. Diary*, in Essex Institute.

[2] Chase: *History of Haverhill*, 217.

Mr. Swan and though he was a timid man, his wife was not and drove a spit through the body of the first Indian to enter, so the others preferred not to come in. Resistance began to stiffen. Mr. Davis yelled out, 'Come on! Come on! We'll have them!' just as Major Turner, Captain Price, and Captain Gardner appeared, apparently from the lower village near the Button Woods, with the company now collected and under control, and drove the Indians from the village about sunrise.[1]

Meanwhile, Joseph Bradley, with a small party he had gathered in the northerly part of the town, came upon the packs and medicine chest of the invaders and captured them.[2] Captain Ayer attacked the retreating force of over two hundred men with a little group of twenty or so. Reinforced by his son with forty or fifty more, they pressed the attack so hard that evidently the French had to stand and fight in the retreat, though most of the Indians fled. Hertel de Chambly, de Rouville's brother, and Verchères, two of the French officers, were killed, and a famous chief, Assacambuit, who had been to France and received a sword from Louis XIV, was wounded in the foot. Some of the French surrendered and some captives were sent back, with the word that if the party were pursued, all the prisoners would be killed. Eight of their number were left dead in the two engagements; how many escaped wounded is not known, but the French accounts admit at least eighteen.[3]

Of the Haverhill people and the soldiers, about forty were killed or carried away. Most of the killed were murdered in the surprise attack on the town, but brave

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[1] *Sketch of Haverhill*, 2 M.H.S.C., IV, 131.

[2] Chase: *History of Haverhill*, 224; Vaudreuil au Ministre, Nov. 5, 1708.

[3] Vaudreuil et Beauharnais au Ministre, Nov. 17, 1704, in Sylvester: *Indian Wars*, III, 116.

Captain Ayer was killed in the second fight. Joseph Bartlett, a soldier of Newbury, was captured, and his story of the march back to Canada is full and interesting.[1] Veren Lindall, a Salem soldier also captured, was knocked on the head before they left the town.[2] William Coffin of Salem acted with distinguished courage, and his wife was given an allowance by the General Court. John Gyles, another Salem soldier, was wounded.

The whole of Essex County was alarmed at this raid, and the militia was turned out at least as far down as Salem Village, for the Reverend Joseph Green, the minister, turned out with the rest, and reached Haverhill in the course of the day and went in pursuit of the enemy, but returned the next day. A month later, twenty or thirty Indians were seen near Haverhill and again the whole countryside rushed to arms. Mr. Green again went, and evidently Captain Turner was still there, for Parson Green walked around the eight-mile circuit of the garrison houses with him and a detail of twenty men. Again, a week later, he went up with Major Stephen Sewall and Captain Putnam. Evidently the colony regarded the attack on Haverhill as too near for comfort.[3]

The war upon the sea was more or less disastrous to Salem, and many ships were lost. Captain Habakkuk Gardner seems to have had particularly hard luck. In 1704, in the *Essex Galley* he was almost forced ashore on Barbados by a French privateer, and while he escaped capture, his anchor broke and his ship drove ashore, a total loss.[4] Four years later, when in command of the *Friendship*, he was captured by a French privateer near

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[1] Coffin: *Newbury*, Appendix, 331.

[2] E.I.H.C., VI, 109.

[3] Rev. Joseph Green: *MS. Diary*, in Essex Institute.

[4] *Essex County Notarial Records*, E.I.H.C., XLII, 160.

Antigua and carried into 'Martinecoe whereby the said Ship and cargoe was wholly lost.' [1]

Apparently the fishing fleet often arranged for a convoy of its own. The masters or owners of several vessels would join together and employ an armed vessel to convoy them to the Banks and stand by for defense while they fished. There is an interesting protest of Captain William Pickering, of the sloop *Content*, which describes such a plan.[2] Apparently Pickering was commissioned [3] by Governor Dudley on petition of Major Stephen Sewall of Salem and Captain Edward Brattle, who agreed to arm and equip the vessel at their expense, but the plan fell through, since the sloop was hired from a Boston merchant who owed William Gedney some money and Gedney attached it for debt.

The next year Pickering was again commissioned, this time to the brigantine *Hope*, probably the same Salem vessel that had gone to Port Royal under Captain Waters the previous year. His commission has been preserved, and shows what was expected of a letter-of-marque ship of the period. He was to take, sink, seize, and destroy ships of France or Spain, but he was especially forbidden to make war on the Spanish settlements, though the French settlements were not given this immunity.[4]

It was probably during this cruise that an episode occurred which is described by Pickering's grandson as follows:

> Off Cape Breton in calm weather, he was attacked by a shallop containing about thirty Frenchmen. When the enemy approached, the crew was for surrendering, being only six or seven in number: but as they had each a musket and their vessel was fixed for close quarters, William

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[1] *Essex County Notarial Records*, E.I.H.C., XLII, 245.

[2] *Ibid.*, 164.

[3] *Mass. Archives*, LXIII, 90.

[4] Commission, E.I.H.C., LVIII, 154.

> Pickering, the master, told them if they would only load the guns he would fire them all himself. They did so. As the Frenchmen rowed up astern and came within musket shot he began to fire out of the cabin windows. They rowed the faster: but he continued firing till they got up to the stern; then he shut fast the cabin windows and they all ran forward to the forecastle in which were loopholes. By the time they reached the forecastle the Frenchmen were climbing up on the stern. He renewed his fire and in the whole defence killed and wounded so many that the survivors took to their shallop and rowed off.[1]

The next year the same vessel, the *Hope*, or another one, but at any rate one owned by Andrew Belcher of Boston and sailed by Joshua Pickman, was sent under Captain Pickering to recover captives from Newfoundland. After this he rose to the command of the *Province Galley*,[2] the chief, and usually the only, armed ship the province maintained, and was ordered to convoy provision ships around the Cape southward, as a French privateer from Martinico was reported attacking the coastwise shipping; but he evidently got back in time to take part in the expedition which captured Port Royal in September, 1710. The *Province Galley* took some part in the disastrous Quebec expedition of 1711, though she did not sail with the fleet, but probably sailed later. The muster roll of the *Province Galley* for 1711 is still preserved,[3] and many Salem names may be recognized.[4]

Queen Anne's War dragged itself along to its close in the spring of 1713, when the news of the Treaty of Utrecht reached America. For nearly forty years since King Philip's War, begun in 1675, the New England colonies had suffered from Indian attacks with only short periods of comparative safety. The treaty gave Nova Scotia and Newfoundland definitely to England, but unfortunately it remained vague on that debatable land between the Kennebec and the St. John Rivers in Maine, and right there lay the seeds of future trouble. For twenty-five years or so there was comparative peace, punctuated with a few Indian attacks during what was often called Lovewell's War, from the famous ranger, but never during that time were there the well-planned expeditions officered by French leaders.

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[1] O. Pickering: *Life of Timothy Pickering*, I, 4.

[2] *Pickering MSS.*, Essex Institute.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] An excellent account of the *Province Galley*, by Miss Harriet Sylvester Tapley, is in the Essex Institute Historical Collections, LVIII, to which the author is indebted for many facts.

It is very easy to criticize the men of 1700 from the point of view of luxurious safety in the twentieth century. Our humanitarian instincts are shocked at the idea of placing a bounty on Indian scalps and of sending hardy bands of woodsmen out into the forests to hunt them down as we would a pack of wolves. No woman of the last hundred years in New England has ever looked out the window of her home to see her husband murdered by Indians in the lower field and fled in abject terror to the nearest garrison house hotly pursued by bloodthirsty savages, and been just saved by the dashing courage of two or three brave men and boys who shot her pursuers. No man has ever approached his home to discover that his wife and children have been murdered or carried away into captivity. Such things make a vast difference in one's mental attitude. A fight to the death is not a pleasant affair at best. First it must be settled which side is the stronger, and then the weaker will go down to utter defeat and destruction.

In one respect the English colonists were woefully lacking in imagination. Instead of treating the Indians as immature children to be pampered, cajoled, and led, they tried to treat them as men, as responsible individuals, to be held to their agreements. They were shocked at the moral depravity of the Indians, who failed to keep solemn agreements which they never intended to keep and never dreamed that the English would be fools enough to think that they would.

One feature of it all is, however, worthy of unlimited admiration. The perfectly dauntless courage of these men and women who went out onto the frontier is almost beyond belief. Driven from their farms, and their houses burned behind them, they returned again and again to rebuild and start anew, with yet others surging up from behind to push deeper into the wilderness. Especially was this true of the eastern settlements. Driven back with fire and slaughter all the way from Brunswick to Wells, the settlers returned to push forward across the Kennebec and establish new outposts. They did, perhaps, hold to the idea that the world owed them a living, but it was not somebody else's world which was to be given to them along easy lines. It was a wild, unbroken forest that they intended to take for themselves, and they did. They built their houses and their schools and their churches. They established a clean and wholesome civilization which is the beautiful coast of New England today.

CHAPTER VI

CHURCH LIFE TO THE BREAK WITH MR. FISKE

It is very hard for those in the twentieth century to realize the strength and vitality of the religious life of the eighteenth. It was an age of faith and strong belief in the literal truth of the Scriptures. Men did not question the exact truth of the actual words. The Bible was the Word of God, and it was not for any man to question it. If a text could be found applicable to a case in hand, that settled the question absolutely. If one could sincerely believe in redemption and trust wholly in the redeeming grace of Jesus Christ, that settled the matter of salvation. You were undoubtedly among the elect and were sure of eternal life among the saints; if not, you were equally sure to burn eternally in the torments of hell. There was no halfway about it. The risk was dreadful, and few men cared to take a chance.

> The explanation is associated with the fall of Adam and Eve for conduct in the Garden of Eden. These progenitors were created with free wills. The episode of the apple destroyed their spiritual digestion, so that they could no longer assimilate the Divine will. In some way, because of this sin, they and their descendants became impotent to adjust their wills to the will of God. As a consequence the race was doomed to labor in this world and their outlook in the next was unattractive. To better this lot, God, as an act of grace, predestined certain persons to eternal salvation; the rest of mankind was elected to everlasting punishment. No one could do anything to influence the Divine choice. The struggle of the Puritan to attain a righteous life seems paradoxical in view of this belief. He could do nothing to ensure salvation, but he was deeply moved to know his status in the next world, and to find a test by which he could discover whether he was numbered

> among the elect. If he could assure himself that he had acquired the lost power to conform to the Divine will, he felt confident that he was foreordained to eternal happiness.
>
> It is obvious that such a philosophy would tempt men unconsciously to force themselves to conform to standards. The leaders of the Puritans recognized this danger, and it often caused them periods of depression and uncertainty.
>
> In the Puritan mind there was always a struggle between the self he wished to be and the self he was. By a system of intensive training he subordinated his thoughts, emotions, and desires to a great ideal. He was conscious of a creative impulse which ever held before him a desire to make in life one masterpiece — himself. Failure to attain perfection was sin. In his glorified moments he heard the voice of God. It raised him above fear and corruption and bound him, a willing slave, in the iron bands of discipline. The Puritan discipline was not modest in its demands. Proof of election was found in an intensive training which involved the organization of all thinking, feeling, and willing.
>
> It makes little practical difference to the world whether correct behavior is the test or the fruit of salvation. We are interested in having others do the best things in the best way. Everything which prevents this is probably sin, in varying degrees of culpability. What we demand of others, the Puritan took upon himself, and carried on, shunning everything as sin which was not enjoined by God as His way to perfection. As a method of character-building the system has never been surpassed.[1]

The writer has talked with many Congregational divines, both Unitarian and Trinitarian, and the above seems to him the most logical explanation of the apparent contradiction of the Puritan's yearning for a godly life in view of his firm belief in election which would seem to render the living of a godly life unnecessary.

This faith bore fruit in the outward life of the people.

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[1] From W. A. Pew: *Bible Commonwealth in Massachusetts*, E.I.H.C., LXVI, 225 *et seq.*

Existence was a serious matter. The life of the spirit must be cultivated in every possible way. Men of the highest character spent long hours in private prayer; every family had morning and evening prayers in which all the children took a part. With each one it became an intensely personal matter. What, after all, were the temporary joys of this life compared with a bright eternity in heaven against an alternative of an eternity of torture! A deep inborn sense of responsibility was bred into each individual, and the men with the deepest sense of responsibility were the leaders of the community. They were sure they had found the real way of salvation. All others must be wrong.

All the sins in the decalogue were certain to imperil man's certainty of the hope of salvation, and it was the duty of the community to enforce those laws. True repentance might help, but it was far better not to sin at all, and sins should be prevented if possible and severely punished anyway. Even a little profanity was likely to bring one under severe penalties. Profanation of the Sabbath was strictly interpreted, and when Judge Sewall found two young men had been traveling on Sunday for business purposes, he considered it his duty to investigate and punish, though he was merely spending the Sabbath with his friends in Newbury at the time and was not on duty as a magistrate.[1]

Church life was an important function in the community. Long sermons bringing out the religious ideals of their theology, monthly fast days and meetings at various private houses for prayer, were the regular order of life. Funerals were almost social events, with long prayers and eulogies. They were usually held at the home of the deceased. There the procession formed, headed by the ministers and the pallbearers, with the chief mourners following the coffin, and proceeded on foot to the burying place, where, after more prayers, the coffin was placed in a family tomb, or grave, as the case might be. Carriages were seldom available and seldom used except for dignitaries of the state or aged persons. The leading men must actually have spent considerable of their time going to funerals and acting as pallbearers. It may be suspected that there was a certain amount of worldly pride mingled with grief at these funerals, for men were surprised if they were overlooked on the list of bearers, and it was noticed who had been invited to lead the widow and in what order the procession formed. The pallbearers and other important mourners had rings or scarfs or gloves given to them as mementoes of the event. Men were much more in evidence on these occasions than women, who apparently attended only when related to or intimately associated with the deceased.

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[1] Sewall: *Diary*, III, 81–83.

In such a serious life, the church bore an important part. It was the dominant institution, and men coveted the more distinguished offices. To be a deacon was a mark of distinction, and men took pride in the title. Men of ability and position expected to have the best seats in church, and jealousy developed if they were slighted. The men and women still seem to have been seated in different parts of the church, and were evidently supposed to stay where the seating committee placed them. An amusing note sent to Mrs. Mercy Marston by the town clerk shows how seriously such things were taken:

COPPY OF NOTE SENT TO MRS. MERCY MARSTON ABOUT HER SETTING IN MRS. OSGOOD'S SEAT IN YE 2D PEW [1]

I am to Informe you y^{t} the Wid^{o}. M^{rs}. Mary Gedney, Cap^{t}. Osgood's wife, M^{r}. Keysor's wife, Cap^{t}. Willard's

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[1] E.I.H.C., xi, 239.

> wife, M^{r}. Jn^{o}. Pickering's wife, M^{r}. Tho. Flint's wife, are Placed in the Second Pew, in the meeting House wthin The first Parrish in Salem & whereas you have Remoued M^{rs}. Osgood's Chair & Seated yo-Self in her Place (you your Self having never been placed In S^{d} pew) you are desired to refrain taking The Same place or any of the places of the psons Aboue mentioned for the future, it being Ill resented by all that observe the same & all psons ought to observe order in all things & places, Especially in the Church at the Publick Worship, w^{ch} wee desire you will take notice of & Conform your Self accordingly.
>
> Per order of the Selectmen.
>
> WALTER PRICE, *Town Cler.*
>
> To Mrs. Mercy Marston, Jun'r.
> Salem, Aprill 10th, 1714.

Those who did not live up to the standards of the church were liable to ecclesiastical discipline, and church discipline was not to be lightly disregarded. The members of the church watched their pastor, and if his doctrine fell below their standard, a church meeting was likely to call him to account. The vitality of their religion reached down into every aspect of their church life.

This was the sort of church which was attended by the people in what is now Salem and Peabody. It was the one church of all the people. The farmers at Salem Village had their own church, but everybody else attended the First Church, except the small group of Quakers, who had a meeting of their own. Of this church, which had continued down from that started by Skelton and Higginson in 1629, the Reverend John Higginson, son of the original founder, had long been the pastor, and the Reverend Nicholas Noyes was his colleague at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Mr. Higginson began his ministry at Saybrook Fort in Connecticut,[1] but came to Salem when he was forty-four and continued to serve the church till his death at the age of ninety-two, in 1708. The picture which the old man gives of his arduous life and the small return he received, in his letter to his son Nathaniel, who had grown rich and prosperous in faraway India, is clear and vivid. He hopes that Nathaniel may provide for his sister's two orphan daughters. The fact that he says they 'are like to continue as ancient maids'[1] shows that certain recent conditions in the city are not without precedent. He is proud of his son John, 'a worthy man of singular prudence in managing affairs; a Major; a Justice of Peace; often chosen representative,'[2] but he reports having freed the town of his arrears of salary 'upon condition of their maintaining Anna [his daughter] during her life and doing something for Thomas' (the wandering son who had gone privateering or perhaps pirating). Though then eighty years old, he is 'enabled through mercy to preach on the Sabbath and lecture days as formerly, and my voice (they say) is heard well in our great meeting-house.' He is interested in the work of God in the Indies and wants to know if the Dutch are Christianizing Ceylon.[3] All his letters reflect the character of a good and wise man and one who would be beloved in his community. He was a sincere and earnest Christian, and his dying testimony to his children breathes a spirit of faith and a devout desire for their welfare — keep up your private prayers, keep up your family religious exercises, remember the Sabbath day, own your covenant with God, seek the Lord that you may be sincere and upright in all that you do, sing psalms together.[4] His son John, at least, took this to heart, to judge from his confession of faith read to the church in 1712.[5]

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[1] Gardener: *Pequot War*, 3 M.H.S.C., III, 144, 147.

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[1] 3 M.H.S.C., VII, 199. [2] *Ibid.*, 207. [3] *Ibid.*, 200.
[4] E.I.H.C., II, 97. [5] E.I.H.C., VI, 255.

This venerable pastor was one of the last who survived of the first settlers who had been born in England. It is true he was but thirteen years old when he arrived, but he came before Winthrop, and he lived to see the starving village of Salem develop into a large and prosperous town. He became the Nestor of the Congregational churches as well as the pastor of the first church of that denomination.[1] As he says in his graceful introduction to Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*, 'I have seen all that the Lord has done for his people in New-England and have known the Beginning and Progress of these Churches unto this Day,' [2] while Cotton Mather says of him, 'This Reverend Person has been always valued for his useful Preaching and his holy Living,' and having arrived at his eightieth year still continues preaching the Holy Scriptures 'with such a manly, pertinent and judicious vigor and with so little Decay of his Intellectual abilities as is indeed a Matter of Just Admiration.' [3]

December 9, 1708, was a stormy, snowy night, and it happened that Judge Samuel Sewall was at Salem for the court and was dining with his brother Stephen.[4] Major-General Wait Winthrop was there also, as was the Reverend Nicholas Noyes, when Mr. Higginson's grandson called to find Mr. Noyes, saying that his grandfather had fallen asleep and they could not wake him. As soon as dinner was finished, Mr. Noyes and Mr. Sewall went, but Mr. Higginson had passed away a few minutes before. Benjamin Browne had died also two days earlier, so the judge decided to stay for the funerals. He dined with his daughter Hirst's father-in-law one evening and listened to sermons by Mr. Noyes and Mr. Corwin on Sunday, and on Monday was invited to be a bearer at Mr. Browne's funeral. Mr. Browne was buried in his father's tomb on Burying Point. Next day Mr. Higginson was buried at the same spot in Governor Bradstreet's tomb, a little before sunset. The six neighboring ministers, who were the bearers, 'Are all of that Association and wear their own Hair' is the judge's comment,[1] evidently intended as a slur on periwigs.

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[1] C. W. Upham: *Second Century Lecture*, 29.

[2] Mather: *Magnalia — An Attestation to this Church — History of New-England.*

[3] Mather: *Magnalia*, 76.

[4] Sewall: *Diary*, II, 244.

Mr. Higginson, even when he died at the age of ninety-two, was a more vigorous man than his colleague, Nicholas Noyes. In fact, two years before he died, Mr. Higginson wrote of Mr. Noyes, 'He is fifty but sickly, by living single he has gotten an estate.'[2] Apart from his connection with the witchcraft delusion, Mr. Noyes seems to have lived a useful life, respected and generally liked. Judge Sewall always speaks pleasantly of him and his sermons. He was chosen to preach the election sermon one year, and the sermon was printed and distributed. He outlived Mr. Higginson only four years.[3]

Mr. Noyes was born in Newbury and was the nephew of the first minister of that town. He was ordained in Salem in 1683. He was esteemed for his learning, but also for his friendly qualities. 'His conversation among men especially with his Friends was very Pleasant Entertaining and Profitable,' said the *Boston News Letter*. He wrote the biography of his uncle James Noyes which Mather printed in the *Magnalia*,[4] and he certainly wrote a clearer and more concise biography than the author of the rest of the book. He was also a poet of sorts, and his elegy on the Reverend Joseph Green of Salem Village,[1] though it contains no such tid-bit as the one on Thomas Hooker,[2] is still entertaining. After taking as his text 'Jesus wept,' he begins:

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[1] Sewall: *Diary*, II, 245–46.

[2] Letter to Nathaniel, 3 M.H.S.C., VII, 200.

[3] John Dunton: *Journal*, 2 M.H.S.C., II, 118; see also C. N. Greenough; John Dunton's Letter, *Pub. Col. Soc. of Mass.*, XIV, 221, note 1; Dunton: *Life and Errors*, I, 127.

[4] Page 45.

> In God's House we of late did see
> A *Green*, and growing Olive Tree.

Of Mr. Green's family, he had no doubts:

> Good Knowledge which their Father brought them
> And Lessons which their Mother taught them,
> Did Season so their Early Youth
> With God's Fear, and his Loving Truth
> And Good Manners: that indeed
> Their Vertues do their age Exceed.

He does not seem so sure of the worthy Green's efforts with the rest of his friends, and rather leaves their salvation with the people themselves and a doubtful 'if':

> In Faith and Works, if we persue him,
> Our Lord will quickly bring us to him.

Soon after Mr. Higginson's death, Mr. George Corwin had begun to preach more or less regularly. The church record says that Mr. Noyes's life was much bound up in him, as the two men were evidently close friends. He was also much interested in the poor of the church.

George Corwin was the son of the Honorable Jonathan Corwin of the witchcraft court, and was graduated from Harvard in 1701. He was formally settled in 1714 with a salary of ninety pounds,[3] but seems to have been associated more or less with Mr. Noyes before that.

It was certainly a great blow to the church when Mr.

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[1] E.I.H.C., VIII, 168–74.

[2] For rich array cared not a fig,
And wore Elisha's periwig.

[3] Church Records.

Noyes and his young colleague both died within a few weeks of each other, in 1717. Mr. Corwin left three children, one of whom was Judge Samuel Curwen,[1] the loyalist, of whom we shall hear more later. Of Mr. Noyes, Judge Sewall says: 'A sore Loss to Salem and New England ... my most excellent and obliging Friend. Salem will be now much less pleasant to me, since I have not my constant Friend to meet me there.' [2] It was in December, and snow prevented the judge from going to the funeral.

Just after the death of Mr. Higginson and while Mr. Noyes was still minister, the first division of the church took place. The area now covered by Peabody, known then as the Middle Precinct, was still part of Salem, but it was a long distance from the First Church and equally far from Salem Village. The people there thought they should be constituted a separate parish, and headed by Captain Gardner tried to bring up the question in the town meeting, without much success. Colonel John Higginson and others opposed it both there and before the Council, but it was voted,[3] and in February, 1710, the people of the Middle Precinct were granted a quarter of an acre of land with leave to erect a meeting house and maintain a minister.[4] By 1712 they had complied with the conditions and were freed from the parish taxes, and on June 25, 1713, thirteen men and twenty-seven women were dismissed from the First Church to form this parish.[5]

The first minister of the Middle Precinct was the Reverend Benjamin Prescott, who is notable as the ancestor of Colonel William Prescott, of the Revolution, and of William H. Prescott, the historian. He seems to have been a personable man well liked by the gentlemen of the city, and often dined at Major Sewall's.[1] In fact he, rather than Mr. Fiske, seems to have taken Mr. Noyes's place as a genial friend and companion.

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[1] It was he who modernized the spelling.

[2] Sewall: *Diary*, III, 154.

[3] *Ibid.*, II, 288.

[4] *Town Records*, Felt, 1st, 352.

[5] First Church Records, April 24 and June 25, 1713. See also Felt, 1st, 356.

On October 8, 1718, the Reverend Samuel Fiske was ordained as minister of the First Church. He was a man of uncommon energy and talent, but it was during his term of service that the first real dissension in the church occurred and resulted in the dismissal of Mr. Fiske in 1735 and the founding of the church afterwards called the 'Tabernacle.' However, he served the First Church for seventeen years before the final break, and many interesting events occurred in the interim.

Just before Mr. Noyes died, the people of the easterly part of the town had wanted to separate and establish their own church. Within a month of Mr. Fiske's ordination, they petitioned for dismission from the First Church. It was granted December 25, although their brethren could not 'but bear testimony against the irregular proceedings of some of the said brethren.' Twenty-six women and ten men were so dismissed. Deacon Simon Willard, the moving spirit, was dismissed with thanks for his great services.[2] The old church was pretty crowded and they had already built a new meeting-house at the corner of Essex and Hardy Streets. The Reverend S. Wigglesworth served the parish for a time, but in the latter part of 1718, thirty-six persons requested to be allowed to found their own church and settle Robert Stanton as their minister.[3] These were largely the fisherfolk and the seafaring people, and they had not been very regular in attendance at the First Church; in fact, had been sailing over to Marblehead to attend the Church of England services 'until it appeared more like a day of frolicking,' so perhaps it was well for them to have a church of their own. The Reverend Cotton Mather preached the ordination sermon, so they seem to have made a good orthodox start, at any rate.

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[1] Sewall: *Diary*, III, 25, 237.

[2] *First Church Records*, Nov. and Dec., 1718.

[3] *Church Records*.

In 1718 also, the third edifice of the First Church was erected. We have little knowledge of how the first building looked, but it was probably a long barn-like structure with doors on all four sides, but without tower or adornment of any sort. Of the second edifice also no picture remains. It was built in 1670 and destroyed in 1718, and was probably a square building with roof sloping down from the center on all sides after the type of the old church in Hingham. We are accustomed to speak and think of the fine old white New England churches, with their beautiful spires or belfries, as if they were always typical of New England, but probably none of this type was built before 1700. The square meeting-houses, with a turret or belfry over the center, and with sloping roofs, were the edifices built by the founders to replace the rude shelters of the first settlements.

In rebuilding the churches of London after the Great Fire of 1666, Sir Christopher Wren developed what we are prone to call the New England type, and church buildings of this type very slowly spread to New England. The church built in 1718 was a modest example. It stood sidewise to the main street with a door in the middle of the street side and a goodly tower on the western end surmounted by a belfry and slender spire. The *Church Records*[1] describe it as a 'Vast and Beautiful yet Grave House.'[2] It must have been well built, for it stood for one hundred and eight years. It was erected on the original site, and a dwelling-house still stood between it and the street leading down to the water.

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[1] Oct. 8, 1718.

[2] Picture in C. W. Upham: *Sermon at Dedication*, Salem, 1826.

CHAPTER VII

CODFISH COMMERCE BEFORE THE MOLASSES ACT OF 1733

THE general theory of England's trade with her colonies has so entirely changed since our Revolution that it is well to see just what kind of economics our forefathers were laboring under. In 1668, Sir Josiah Child, Chairman of the British East India Company, made a statement which gives the old attitude of mind perhaps as clearly as any. Adam Smith [1] and John Stuart Mill had not yet shed the light of reason on the subject of foreign trade, nor had the amateur economists of the twentieth century begun to shade facts with sentimental nonsense; but Child had a point of view of his own which was intended to represent pure selfishness, and failed as pure selfishness usually does. The only way to prosper is to make men around you prosperous, and not to make them poor. Child's statement was this:

> Of all the American plantations His Majesty has none so apt for the building of ships as New England, nor none comparably so qualified for the breeding of seamen, not only by reason of the natural industry of the people, but principally by reason of their cod and mackerel fisheries, and in my opinion there is nothing more prejudicial and, in prospect, more dangerous to any mother kingdom than the increase of shipping in her colonies, plantations, or provinces.[2]

It might have been expected that some narrow-minded men would hold such ideas, but the misfortune was that they were held by Parliament and written into the laws of the nation. By the Act of 1660, goods from Asia, Africa, and America could be brought to England only by English or colonial vessels and must come directly. No foreign vessels could take their own goods to the colonies, and certain products of the colonies, like sugar, tobacco, cotton, ginger, indigo, and dyewoods, could be taken *only* to England or English colonies, regardless of whether the prices to be obtained there were the best or not. Apart from this final restriction, this first Navigation Act of 1660 was not particularly injurious to the colonies, but the second Act of 1663 was more particularly planned to help the English manufacturers. No European goods could be brought to the colonies unless they were first landed in England, except salt, wine from the Azores, servants, horses, and victuals from Scotland and Ireland. The preamble distinctly outlines the reason, which, while well enough from the English point of view, could hardly have pleased the colonies, namely:

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[1] *Wealth of Nations*, bk. IV, chap. I.

[2] Josiah Child: *Discourse of Trade*, 162.

> For the maintaining of a greater correspondence and kindness between them and keeping them in a firmer dependence upon it [i.e., the mother country] and rendering them yet more beneficiall and advantageous unto it in the farther Imployement and Encrease of English Shipping and Seamen, Vent of English Woolen and other Manufactures and Commodities — and making this Kingdom a Staple not onely of the Commodities of those Plantations but alsoe of the Commodities of other Countryes and Places.[1]

It will be seen that this act tied all trade of the colonies to England, as all importations must be trans-shipped there, and colonial voyages to Spain were in direct violation of it so far as most of the homeward cargo was concerned.

The third Navigation Act of 1672 prevented trade between the colonies on enumerated articles except on payment of the same duties as were exacted when goods went to England. The surplus of fish in New England was at the root of the trouble with this act. Refuse and pickled fish brought a good price in the West Indies — it was not so valuable in England — but this act prevented the acquiring of a return cargo of salable merchandise, except perhaps molasses.

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[1] See Robinson: *Development of the British Empire*, 106.

The colonists, it is true, could send their fish or anything else, except the articles enumerated in the first act, to Spain or other foreign countries, but the return cargo must go to England for reshipment. America was a long way off, however, and the royal arm was weak from stretching, so little or no attention was paid to the regulations. But act followed act pretty frequently after 1672, tightening up the enforcement. Royal governors and naval officers were held to greater responsibility in the enforcement of them, and all the time the restrictions were increased. Rice and molasses were placed on the enumerated list of articles which could be exported only to England, so the colonists took to trading with the Dutch and French West India colonists instead, till, at the request of the West India planters, the Molasses Act of 1733 was passed to stop them.[1]

But it must be remembered that passing of laws is of little importance unless those laws are enforced, and in 1696 an act was passed holding colonial royal governors more strictly to account and requiring bonds of naval officers for the performance of their duties, so the colonial methods of evasion had to be a little more astute and the failures of attempted evasion were more frequent and costly. Moreover, till the end of the French War in 1713, any colonial vessel was a fair prize to the French wherever she was trading, while any technical breach of the Navigation Acts made her a lawful prize to the numerous British and West Indian privateers which the war conditions had set to work.

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[1] Robinson: *Development of the British Empire*, 123.

In spite of all this, however, trade was a vital necessity of the town and vessels were built and sent to sea. In 1698 and 1699, twenty-six vessels were registered in Salem of which two were ships rated at eighty tons or more and the rest were sloops and ketches of twenty to forty tons. This was not necessarily all the Salem vessels afloat, for many others may have been registered earlier and been still in use.[1]

But far more interesting than the fleet itself was where they went and what they did. An interesting voyage to Barbados in September, 1697, is a good sample of that trade in what was evidently a large vessel. The ship *Sarah*, Samuel Derby, master, carried three hogsheads of fish for John Turner, one for Joseph Tyler, two for Philip English, two for John Browne (as well as a bay mare and two hogsheads of refuse fish), four hogsheads for Benjamin Browne, two hogsheads for Benjamin Pickman, three hogsheads of fish and four of mackerel for Habakkuk Gardner, and five of haddock for William Hirst, as well as 5550 red-oak staves, 'one bright Sorril horse with white face and four white feet,' and 10,000 feet of long cedar shingles for Benjamin Allen, 6900 red-oak hogshead staves for Benjamin Marston, two hogsheads of scale fish and two boxes of candles for John Browne. This makes seventeen hogsheads of fish, four of mackerel, five of haddock, and two each of scale fish and refuse fish, as well as the two horses and the lumber. It is interesting to note that nothing counts as 'fish' except cod apparently, and that the description of the horse indicates the prejudice against horses of his color and markings even then. Several horses sent at different times in the records all have the 'four white feet and the white nose.' The cargo was all shipped to consignees in Barbados, but seems to have been sold at Antigua, probably because Captain Derby could not reach Barbados for some reason.[1]

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[1] Felt, 2d, II, 247.

The freights paid were very varied, but seem to average for the fish about £5 per ton or 50s. per hogshead; fare for the horse cost £9, and nine-sixteenths of the shingles and staves were allowed for the freight of the rest. The total cash freight paid was £59–15. The ship sailed after September 16 and arrived in Antigua before November 13, but what she brought back or when she arrived we do not know.[2] Evidence of the sort of return cargo she might have brought is indicated in a row between Captain Andrews, of the ketch *Repair*, who entered a cargo of molasses, sugar, cotton, and some rum from Barbados, and Mr. Benjamin Gerrish, the deputy collector, who refused him clearance papers to take the rest of his rum to Piscataqua.[3]

The way in which this trade was done is best described in some contemporary correspondence. In 1700, Nathaniel Higginson of London, that son of the Reverend John who had acquired wealth in the East Indies, wrote to his brother John of Salem as to the advisability of indulging in the New England trade. Because the direct questionnaire of the one brother and the clear answers of the other[4] cover nearly the whole field it is worth quoting:

> 1st, you say 'may a stock of 5 or 10 thousand pounds be employed?' I answer, the trade of New England is large.

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[1] This Captain Derby was probably the eldest son of Roger Derby and the uncle of the Honorable Richard Derby. Perley Derby: *Genealogy*, E.I.H.C., III, 156.

[2] *Essex County Notarial Records*, E.I.H.C., XLI, 381.

[3] *Ibid.*, 391.

[4] *Higginson Letters*, 3 M.H.S.C., VII, 218.

We trade to all parts where the law doth not prohibit. Our principal commodities are dry merchandise cod-fish fit for the markets of Spain, Portugal, the Straits, also refuse dry fish, mackerel, lumber, horses and provision for the West Indies; the effects whereof mostly return for England. The returnes made directly hence for England, are chiefly sugar, molasses, cotton-wool, logwood and brazilla-wood; for which, we are beholden to the West Indies. Of our owne produce, we have a considerable quantity of whale and other fish-oyles, whale bone, furrs, deer, elk and bear skins; which are usually sent for England. We have also silver, lead, and copper mines; but, for want of artists, there has been little got out of them. In all or any of which, a man may employ his money.

2^d^. 'Whether 2 ships can be employed constantly between England and New England with what stock, and of what burden?' I answer; 2 ships may be employed with the stock of a 100 tons or more; but here is much shipping, freight very low, and it is a query whether you had not better ship upon freight, than either hire or owne vessels. The factor here may always have freight when he can provide it.

3^d^. 'How many trips can one ship make, in one year, between England and New England; and what are the proper seasons of voyaging?' I answer, It is possible for a ship to make two trips in a year, but it is seldom done. The season for voyaging is almost all the year; the dead of winter most difficult to come on this coast; the best time between April and November.

4^th^. 'How may Barbadoes, Jamaica, Virginia, and other places in the West Indies or in Europe, be made use of in carrying on a trade between England and New England? Please to name the correspondent whom you have employed, or known, in any such place.' I answer, that Barbadoes, Jamaica, Virginia, and other places in the West Indies, are very proper to be made use of in making returns for England, of their commodities, the more advantageous than direct from hence. For instance, molasses has been this year at 12d a gallon, besides the charge of casks, &c., in Barbadoes; and much molasses, which has

> been shipped of hence for England, cost here 2s a gallon, besides other charges of commission, cooperage, &c. The freight from Barbadoes being much the same as from hence, I judge it more advantageous to have returns of that kind from Barbadoes, than from New England; sugar and cotton are much the same. Places proper in Europe to make returns to England from, and are much improved for that end, from hence, are Bilboa, Cadiz, Oporto, and the Streights; where the markets are variable, according to the plenty or scarcity of the commodities.
>
> 5th. 'Whether Salem or Boston be the best place for trade?' Answer, Boston, in some respects, Salem in others. Both well improved, may do well.

This is a clear picture of how the trade was carried on, but it is not apparent that the Higginsons ever undertook it, though others did. In the early years of the century, Philip English, who had suffered heavy losses in the witchcraft delusion, had regained his position and become a rich merchant. At the height of his prosperity he owned over twenty vessels. In 1700, he had reached the age of fifty and was sending his ventures to many ports. There was quite a brisk coastwise trade with Maryland and Virginia, and perhaps the following bill of lading, dated December 24, 1707, gives a good view of the trade.

> Shipped by the Grace of God in good order and well conditioned by Sam'll Browne, Phillip English, Capt. Wm. Bowditch, Wm. Pickering and Sam'll Wakefield in and upon the good sloop called the may flower whereof is Master under God for this present voyage Jno. Swasey and now riding at Anchor in the harbour of Salem and by God's Grace bound for Virginia or Merriland To Say twenty hogshats of Saltt.

Of this it will be noticed Samuel Wakefield, who appears to be the merchant in Maryland, was part owner, but he had no interest in the rest of the shipment, which was:

> To Virginia or Merriland — Five tearces of Malasses, two hogshuts Rum, twelve barrills Racktt Sider, forty Eightt Sider pails, two barrils and one firkin Shugar, forty Eightt Shugar boxes, twenty four gallonds & two gallond Runlits, twelve three gallond and twelve four gallond Runlits, Sixtiene new half barrils twelve pecks on the proper Acctt & Resqe &c.

What the *May Flower* brought back we do not know, but two or three years later, William English, Philip's son, received the following in Maryland:

> Mary Land. Received on board the Sloop Mary Bound for Salem in New England on accompt of Mr. Phillip English Merchant there to say one thousand and ffity pounds of Hides, Three hundred Eighty & Eight pounds of Iron, Thirteen & ½ pounds of Brass, Eight pounds of puter (pewter) and Two hundred ffity five ½ bushels of wheat, w'ch I promise to deliver to s'd Mr. Phillip English or assignes (danger of ye Seas Excepted) he or they paying freight for ye same, fforty shillings for ye Hides, Brass & puter and Iron — for ye Wheat Eighteen pence per bushel: having signed to Two receipts of ye same tenor and date the one to be accomplished ye other to stand void. I say rec'd
>
> per WM ENGLISH.
>
> St Mariot ffeby 27th 1711–12.

A little later in the same year, William was sent on a more ambitious voyage to Surinam, and his father's letter of instructions is indicative of the difficult method of trade when they reached out into the colonies of other countries:

> Salem in New England.
> ye 9th day of June, 1712.
>
> Wm. English. — You being master of the Slope [sloop] Mary, & hauing Laden yo'r vessell, you are to attend ye Laws and Customes of this place Relating to Clearing of

> said vessell and Goods, you are to take ye first opportunity of wind and weather, and sett saile, Directing yo'r Course for Seyrinam, [Surinam, Dutch Guiana,] where you are now bound, and when it shall please god to bring you safe there, you are to attend ye Laws and Customes of that place in Respect to Entring yo'r vessell and goods, and then you are to deliver yo'r goods according to bills of lading, and receiue yo'r freight [money] and what goods you haue of ours consigned to your selfe, you are to make sale of for Malasses so to Lode your vessel home here for New England, and if in case our Effects, both of goods and freight, doth not produce a full loading for said vessell, Then take what fraight you can for Salem or Boston, and if you have more of our Effects as aforesaid then will Lade your vessell with Mallasses, we leaue it wth you to Lay out in such things as you shall think most Benefitiall for ye owner of sd vessell, and for to Loade in ye same for ye owner's profitt. Be sure make no debts, and so, haueing Loaden yo'r vessell in Seyrinam, and done yo'r Consearnes, you are to cleare yo'r vessell and goods so that no Damage may accrue to your owners and Imploy'rs. So haueing no more at present, but wishing you a good and prosperous voyage, and a safe returne to Salem in New England, Again We Rest yo'r
>
> Loueing Owners,
> PHILIP ENGLISH.

Of course, the period of Queen Anne's War, which lasted from 1702 to 1713, was a difficult period for the Salem merchants; nevertheless, between 1700 and 1714 there were registered in Salem four ships, three barques, nine brigs, twenty-four sloops, and nineteen ketches which ranged from fifteen to ninety tons.[1] These fifty-nine vessels were a handsome addition to the fleet already afloat, but no doubt many of the ships were lost or captured, so it was not a net addition. Some forty of these were built in Salem, and at least two large vessels, the *Unity* of two hundred and seventy tons and the *American Merchant* of one hundred and sixty tons, were built for overseas merchants.

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[1] Felt, 2d, II, 252.

There is an interesting memorandum showing how ships may have been built for the Surinam merchants which is so comprehensive that it is worth giving in full:

> Mr. Nathaniel Marston. By These I deliver you ouer a bill of lading & Invoice for Sundry goods Shiped by me on board Ship pleasure, Francis Ellis Commander, & also a bill of loading & Invoice for 24 Teirces of Molasses on board y^{e} Briganteen Abigail & Sarah, Walter Goodridge, Command^{r}, which goods goes Consigned to your Selfe, hope that it shall come all well vnto your hands in New England. My order & desire is that you shall sell y^{e} Molasses & rumme at y^{e} best price you can and lay out y^{e} proceeds of sd Mallasses & rumm in building of a Sloop of 44 or 45 foot keel 18 12 foot wide & nine foot deep Rhode Island fashion with a round house & further as you shall think fitt for this Trade but take good care that she is strong built and good sound planks & Timber well fit for Sailen. Come in her hither as soon as it be possible & Load in her for my account Sixteen large horses of 4 or 5 year old and not aboue it with long Tailes; fifty thousand red Oake Staues, three thousand foot boards fitt for heading, five & Twenty barrells with onyons, five & Twenty pound Shalotes, five thousand pound Virginia Bright leafe tobacco, Twelue ferkins of new Butter, Six barrells of beafe, Six Sett of Truss hoops & 300 Truss hoops nails, one frame of a boat of 25 foot keel, 10 foot wide & 3 1–2 foot deep, without any planke. The Sloop Must be named the Johanna or Seaflower. For your trouble & pains you shall have off me when you ariue here Two hundred & fifty Gilders in Stead off Comission & your Wages shall goe on as Comander of s^{d} Sloop as soon she shall be launcht at Sixty Gilders a month. You must hyre your men for Surinam & from hence to Madera or Ireland. If it should happen that you had occasion for more money to fit s^{d} Sloop & Cargoe out than what you shall haue vnder you then I give you Liberty to draw Six or Eight hundred Gilders vpon me which I shall

> punctually pay vpon Sight off your Letter but Try first if you can gett my money upon my bill of Exchange from M^r^ Benjamin Marston being Sixty pound New England money. I doe hope that he shall pay it but if he is not willing then bring me y^e^ Same without Making any noise or protest about it & if you should fall so short of money that you should Wante about a quarter part or an Eigth part then aply your Selfe by Mr John Vryling and offer him s^d^ part & I doe not Doubt or he shall be glad to Concern himselfe with you but don't let him know that I gott so much Interest in s^d^ Sloop. If you could take any horses upon freight Let them be Shipped for Eighty Gilders p head or Seventy p Tun of other freight goods. Wishing you a good voiage and Success
>
> I remaine yo^r^ frind
>
> Wm. Clifton
>
> Surinam 10 Jan^r^y. 1707

Well, Captain Marston evidently was not able to work off a part of the ship on John Vryling, so he mortgaged one-half to Captain Thomas Savage and gave him bills of exchange for twelve hundred guilders to raise money to equip and load her. He decided to name her *Johannah.* She was built for two hundred and twenty pounds by Samuel Ruck, and was rated at eighty-three tons.[1]

There is a good deal of evidence of extended and complicated trade, as, for instance, that Philip English and Eleasar Lindsey chartered their brigantine *Neptune* to Leonard Abbott of Jamaica, but then a resident of Salem, for a voyage to Jamaica and the Bay of Campeche to load logwood for Amsterdam and Rotterdam as early as 1710.[2] In 1717, Captain Jonathan Browne is requested to pay Philip English £33 18/ as wages for his servant who went as a sailor in the ship *Friendship* 'in her last voyage to Bilboa, ye Isle of May, Barbadoes and home.'[3]

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[1] *Essex County Notarial Records*, I, 68, 69, 71; E.I.H.C., XLII, 165–68.

[2] *Book of Records for Masters*, I, 85; E.I.H.C., I, 169.

[3] *English Papers*, E.I.H.C., I, 160.

An excellent view of the West Indies trade at this time is given in Samuel Browne's letter of instructions to Captain John Touzell, and shows the amount of discretion which had to be given to a captain:

> *Mr. John Touzell* — You are hereby appointed Master of my Sloop Endeavour, and being Loaden & supplyed with what is needful for your voyage, you are therefore to take ye first good opportunity of wind & weather, & come to Sail with said vessell, directing your course and making the best of your way for the West Indies; and you may Touch at Barbados, St. Christopher's, or Antegoa or Jamaica, and if any good marketts att any of those Places, then you may dispose of my Cargoe I consign you by Bill of Loading & Invoice herewith given you, to my best advantage, & Purchase a Loading of good Mollasses, Some Rum, good Cotton wool, good Cocoa Nutts & good Indigo, and any other thing you may bring here with Safety, that will turn to advantage, or, if the markets are Low at ye English Islands, then you may goe & Trade at Guardelupe, Cape Francois, or any of the french Islands, where you Can gett Permition to Trade, & with Safety, and bring my Effects as afforesaid. If you should Trade at Martinico, Gett of Mr. Barbolton the Effects of my Sloop's Cargo Left in his hands, of the Last Voyage in good Mollasses. Imploy your Coopers Diligently in making Cask for your Mollasses which you purchase for me, make what Dispatch you Can back to New England to me. Leave no debts on my account, If possible to avoid itt, Butt Bring the whole Proceeds of my Cargoe in Such goods as I have mentioned. be Careful to pay your Port Charges, and not to bring anything Home to endanger a Seizure of my Vessell. Take Care that yourself, Mate & Seamen Pay their Proportion of the charge of Permition To Trade at the French Islands, if you Should go & Trade there; or it is Butt Reasonable that they Should Pay their Part who Reap Equall advantage with me according to their Parts, and Suffer nothing to be brought in the Vessell more than their Privileidge, without Paying freight. Consult my Interest, & make Dispatch in my Buissiness, & use the greatest Prudence, Dili-

> gence & good Husbandry you Can in all my affairs, and Endeavour to make me a good Voyage, advise me of your Proceedings pr Every opportunity. So wishing you a Prosperous voyage, Comitt you to the Protection of Almighty God, I am
>
> Yr Freind & Imployer,
> Sam'll Browne.
>
> Bring Some Oranges & Limes.[1]

It is not easy to find records of direct voyages to Spain and the wine islands, but there is frequent mention of trips home when some accident may have happened which caused a protest to be filed, as, for instance, in 1709, when Captain Gideon Andrews, of the ship *Grove Galley*, on a voyage from Lisbon to New England was captured by two French privateers and, after being released on giving hostage for payment of ransom, was 'very much plundered & Rifled in a perfidious Maner' before being released to proceed to Salem.[2]

Perhaps the scope of the trade may best be judged by the entrances and clearances of vessels for certain weeks picked at random from the custom house records. In one week in April, 1721, two vessels came in from North Carolina, two from Maryland, two from Saltatuda, while one cleared for Oporto. In a similar period the following month, three came in from Saltatuda and one from Fayal, while one each left for Lisbon, Bilboa, and Canso, and three for the West Indies. In July, two left for Bilboa and one each for Portugal, Gibraltar, and Spain.[3] It is clear that Salem was a busy little port, but of course the custom house records of Salem covered adjacent ports and also covered other than Salem vessels.

The question of trade in English ships that came here has been largely neglected in the accounts of colonial trade, but it is pretty evident that there was a good deal of it during this period. In fact, the General Court had the impudence to levy a duty on English goods and English-built ships in 1718, which provoked the wrath of Governor Shute and the Lords of Trade and had to be repealed, but is clear evidence that there was considerable trading in overseas shipping. Captain N. Uring, who came here in 1709, describes our trade as follows:

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[1] E.I.H.C., i, 66.
[2] E.I.H.C., xlii, 247.
[3] Felt, 2d, ii, 256.

> The Inhabitants are very industrious and carry on a very considerable Trade to the Southern Plantations, viz. to all the Carribee Islands and Jamaica which they supply with Lumber as Plank, Boards, Joyce, and Shingles for building Houses, dried Fish and Salted Mackerel, some Beef and Pork, Pitch, Tar, and Turpentine; Tallow and Bay Berry, Wax Candles; which last is made of Wax extracted from a Berry that grows in Plenty in that Country. They send also several Ships to the Bay of Honduras to load Logwood, and have some Trade to Carolina, Virginia and Maryland, Pensilvania and New-York; they likewise send many Ships to Portugal and the Straights with dry'd Cod-Fish, which is commonly called Poor Jack, or Baccalew; and have a very good Trade to the Isles of Azores and Madera, whom they furnish with Pipe Staves, dry'd Fish, salted Mackerel, and Bees-Wax; for which they purchase Wines and return to New England. All the country of New England takes off great Quantities of the British Manufactures and in return build us Ships and send us whale Oyl and Bone, great Quantities of Turpentine Pitch and Tar, some Furrs and Deer Skins: besides which many Ships from England lade with dry'd Fish for the Straights and Portugal.[1]

Some of these voyages were quite interesting. In the spring of 1713, the good ship *Betty Pink* of London came a-trading, expecting to visit ports within and without the Strait (Gibraltar) before returning to London.[2] The next year the *Thomas and John* came from London to Boston and then dropped down to Marblehead for fish, but got only 1600 quintals when she wanted 2300.[1] Also came the *Hannibal Galley* of London loaded with salt from Sicily, but got only 200 quintals, whereas he should have had 2000 or more.[2] The *Grundy* of London had even worse luck, for she waited at Marblehead two months and got no fish at all.[3] Captain James Comerford of Belfast, Ireland, in coming across the same year was nearly wrecked,[4] and the *Mary Galley* of London, which had loaded sugar and molasses for Marblehead, was found wrecked on Cape Breton by Henry Elkins of Salem, in the *John and Sarah*, and rescued from the Indians, who had robbed the castaways of most of their property.[5] Both of these voyages were in 1715.

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[1] Captain Nathaniel Uring: *Voyages and Travels*, 112, 113.

[2] *Essex County Notarial Records*, E.I.H.C., XLII, 348.

Fishing must have been better in 1716, for we find that the factors of a Dublin firm loaded the brigantine *Goodfellow* in good time, but the master, Jeffery Farmer, found Marblehead too alluring and he would not sail.[6] David Gentleman, master of the pink *Elizabeth*, of one hundred and ten tons, of Galloway, dawdled around and refused to sail for Madeira when loaded and even took out the masts.[7] Later in the autumn the *Mercury* of Teneriffe and the *Princess Galley* of London failed to get cargoes.[8] In 1717 both the London ships, *Mary and Johannah* and frigate *Tyson*, failed to get cargoes either at Salem or Marblehead.[9]

There is a record of a very complicated voyage of the ship *Royal Guardian* of Bristol, in 1717, which shows the nature of some of these English voyages to New England.

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[1] *Essex County Notarial Records*, E.I.H.C., XLII, 349.

[2] *Ibid.*, E.I.H.C., XLIII, 53.

[3] *Ibid.*, 54.

[4] *Ibid.*, 53.

[5] *Ibid.*, 57.

[6] *Ibid.*, 61.

[7] *Ibid.*, 63.

[8] *Ibid.*, 63.

[9] *Ibid.*, 228, 230.

The master was to proceed with a consort to Portendyrick 'on ye coast of Affrica' for gum, but it was doubtful if they would get enough for two ships, so they were to go to the Isle of May on St. Jubes and put all the gum on one ship, while the other, when loaded with salt, was to go to New England, taking all the pieces of eight not yet used, and exchange them for three thousand quintals of merchantable codfish to be taken to Cadiz for orders. If he found no orders, he was to sell at five shillings per quintal. 'If not Gett what advise thou Canst of ye Markets in ye Streights and do thy Best for our Advantage.... In Short do ye Best thee Canst.' [1]

These foreign traders had all sorts of trouble on our coast. Captain Felmore, of the ship *Port Royal* of Exeter, could not make his crew load fish at Marblehead, and one of them ran away altogether. William Neck, the Marblehead innholder, got mixed up in it somehow.[2] The brig *Essex*, from Londonderry, Ireland, was held up by a pirate off Newfoundland in 1720 when she had one hundred passengers, men, women, and children, on board, who 'put y^{m} in great Terrour of thier liues by holding a pistol at their breasts,' but the vessel got in somehow and landed in Salem.[3]

After 1720 there is less evidence of the presence of English ships in our trade, and the natural inference is that the colony-built ships were supplanting them. As that was about the time that the energetic Doctor Barnard was stirring up John Swett and other men of Marblehead to run their own foreign fish trade, instead of leaving all the best profits to foreign merchants, he may have succeeded pretty well.[4]

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[1] *Essex County Notarial Records*, E.I.H.C., XLIII, 230, 231.

[2] *Ibid.*, E.I.H.C., XLIV, 326.

[3] *Ibid.*, 328.

[4] *Autobiography of Rev. John Barnard*, 3 M.H.S.C., V, 240.

In Salem the center of the fishing trade was always Winter Island. The fisherfolk lived there, or at Watertown, just across Cat Cove. At this time the Neck could furnish one hundred soldiers, so it must have been thickly settled.[1] The fish were dried on the island. There was a public wharf where the ships loading were accustomed to lie,[2] and many squabbles arose over the customs of the island. The shore men insisted that it was the custom to deliver fish anywhere on the island, but Captain Alexander Bowdidge, of the ship *Leonora* of Bristol, wanted his fish delivered on the wharf, or at least in Fish Street, but he did not get them and had to carry them down himself. Benjamin Marston was the shipper and adjusted the matter somehow, so he got all the fish aboard with only six days' demurrage.[3]

While the overseas ships, which came mainly for fish, loaded at Winter Island, the home vessels probably did their loading chiefly at the wharves in the inner harbor or at those at the foot of Turner and English Streets. Philip English had a warehouse down near the old Hollingsworth property and John Turner one on his lane. The Higginsons and Gardners had theirs at the foot of Elm Street, but the Brownes, Lindalls, Parkmans, Kitchins, Marstons, and Gedneys had their warehouses along Front at the foot of Norman Street and around in the creek.[4]

The imports from the Southern colonies included wheat and corn, hides, tallow, salt, and tobacco; from the West Indies, molasses and sugar, and from Spain, Portugal, and the western islands, wine, salt, and some textiles. Most of the other necessities came from England and largely in English ships. In spite of the fact that New England was principally agricultural, it could not raise enough breadstuffs for its people, and much had to be brought even then to support the commercial and industrial population of the seacoast towns. There was even a riot in 1710 in Boston over the shipment of wheat out of the colony.[1] Salt was a vital necessity for the fisheries and they never seemed to be able to get too much. Tobacco, sugar, and molasses were used here to some extent, but were also used to make up outward-bound European cargoes, while the wine imported was often sent south either to the southern colonies or to the West Indies. Only the better grades of fish went to Spain and Portugal, while the lower grades as well were used in the West India trade. Many casks of fish oil were also sent south. While few of the boats sent to Barbados could carry many horses, many of them took one or two, and in the course of a year a considerable number went.[2] Lumber was almost a staple for the West India trade. Staves for barrels and for hogsheads for the sugar and molasses trade, red oak for barrel heads and hoops for the hogsheads, spruce and pine boards and shingles, all went in large quantities.[3] At least some bricks [4] were exported, but it is hard to say whether the object was really profit or ballast which would produce some return. Many sloops and ketches were built for merchants in Barbados and Surinam, were loaded with goods and sailed away to their owners never to return. Ships of larger dimensions were built for English merchants and sent to Bilboa and other Portuguese and Spanish ports, loaded with fish and delivered to their owners there.

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[1] E.I.H.C., I, 172.

[2] *Essex County Notarial Records*, E.I.H.C., XLV, 92.

[3] *Ibid.*, E.I.H.C., XLI, 384–85.

[4] *Perley*, II, 355–58.

Ships, brigs, ketches, and sloops were the vessels most used. There is no mention of a schooner before 1720. The largest were rarely of three hundred tons, and forty to ninety tons was the usual size. There was a reason for this, apart from expense. These ships were trading to small ports and too many commodities could not be sold in these small places. By bringing a large cargo a skipper spoiled his own market, and when a few customers had been supplied, he had to dispose of the remainder without much demand or profit. A limited cargo in quick demand would bring fully as much return as a larger one which had to be sacrificed to clean it up.

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[1] Sewall: *Diary*, II, 280.

[2] *Essex County Notarial Records*, E.I.H.C., XLI, 192, 383, 386; XLII, 158.

[3] *Ibid.*, XLI, 192, 383.

[4] *Ibid.*, XLII, 248.

During this period there were two chief difficulties apart from the usual perils of sea, which were always present. In the first ten years there were many French privateers on the lookout for the New England ships, and at all times there were pirates. There was not much difference, apparently, judging from the account of poor Captain Titcomb of the ketch *Newbury*, who was captured six days out of Antigua in 1703 by a Frenchman from Martinico, who, 'by cruel means of putting ye said Titcombs fingers betwixt a Screw & Threatening him with death putting Lighted Matches betwixt his fingers with other Enormos threatening,' compelled him to agree to pay a ransom of £375 for his ship.[1]

Two or three years later as already mentioned,[2] Captain Habakkuk Gardner, on his way to Barbados, was chased ashore on the north side of that island by a French privateer and lost his ship, the *Essex Galley*,[3] and on what may have been his very next voyage his ship *Friendship* was captured.[4]

Captain Gideon Andrews, of the ship *Grove Galley* was captured by the *St. Francisco* and the *Mary Magdalen*, two French privateers, and even after he had agreed to a ransom of £300 they 'rifled ye Ship in a Perfideous Manner.' [1]

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[1] *Essex County Notarial Records*, E.I.H.C., XLI, 390.

[2] See p. 55.

[3] *Essex County Notarial Records*, E.I.H.C., XLII, 160.

[4] *Ibid.*, 245.

Impressment of seamen for the British fleet was then common, and in this time of war the colonists did not escape. A pink which rejoiced in the name of the *Ostrich Eagle*, commanded by Captain Benjamin Pickman, bound from Lisbon for London, was forced into Plymouth by stress of weather, and there Benjamin Bush, Warwick Palfrey, and Jonathan Ropes were impressed for the *August*, a fourth-rate man-of-war. Three years later they were all transferred to the *Rumney*, and after four years Bush was released, but Ropes and Palfrey were still held, and Ropes died on board in a trip from Leghorn to Minorca. Palfrey returned soon after; nevertheless, these men had been forced to serve away from home about eight years apiece, which was no small part of their lives.[2]

The curse of the Algerine pirates plagued the colonial trade with Spain as it did that of all Europe, and some Salem men suffered from captivity from which they had to be ransomed by their friends. Robert Carver was held for more than nine years a slave at Sallee, and other New England men were held in bondage in Algiers.[3]

The coast of New England was entirely unbuoyed and unlighted, with the single exception of a poor little lighthouse at the entrance of Boston Harbor, which was authorized by the legislature in 1713 and paid for by charging fees to the vessels which passed it. The two lighthouses on Thatcher's Island were not lighted till 1771, over half a century later, and those on Baker's Island not till 1798.

Many of the winters were bitterly cold for the navigation of small ships, and the fleets for the West Indies frequently sailed in January. The winter of 1732–33 began

[1] *Essex County Notarial Records*, E.I.H.C., XLII, 247.

[2] *Ibid.*, 350.

[3] Felt, 2d, II, 247; Sewall: *Diary*, I, 199.

early with bitterly cold weather, and by the first of January the harbor was frozen down beyond the fort on Winter Island. Ten of the Barbados and Saltatuda vessels were frozen in, but that did not daunt the courageous skippers or prevent their sailing. 'With God's aid and by the people's help,' they began at the mouth of the harbor and cut a lane for nearly a mile, as the channel wound, up to the ships. The work went steadily on for nearly two weeks, when three of the vessels, of which two belonged to the Browne family, got away, and the others soon followed. After all this work, it is sad to read that one of the Browne brigs was captured near Saltatuda by a Spanish man-of-war.[1]

All this gives a vivid picture of a trade built up and pushed forward by a vigorous and determined people who were not to be deterred by any obstacle. Their cargoes were obtained from the sea and the forest regardless of dangers and difficulties which would have daunted a less hardy race. In spite of Indians and wintry storms, the fisheries were pushed steadily on to success. The timber, which was plenty enough, to be sure, had to be worked up into a merchantable commodity chiefly by hard hand labor. And an equal amount of labor went into the building of the vessels in which the fisheries were built up and the foreign trade pushed. It was all New England's own product, and one cannot but admire the tremendous labor, faith, and foresight which led to the success of the shipping.

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[1] *Lynde Diaries*, 35, 36, 40.

CHAPTER VIII

SALEM BECOMES THE CAPITAL OF MASSACHUSETTS

Just a hundred years after Endecott sailed into Salem Harbor and established the seat of government here, Salem again became the capital city of Massachusetts. In 1722, Governor Shute, very displeased by his six years' controversies with the obstinate General Court, suddenly embarked on a ship and sailed away for England to carry his complaints to the Lords of Trade, leaving the excellent Lieutenant-Governor William Dummer to carry on in his place.

One of the final quarrels between Governor Shute and the House of Representatives had been over his right to negative its choice of a Speaker. It had seen fit to choose Elisha Cooke of Boston, a man very obnoxious to the governor, who simply refused to accept him and, the House refusing to change, after a brief session the governor dissolved the Court. When the new Court met, it decided not to press the question and elected as speaker Timothy Lindall [1] of Salem who served for some time. The Court did not ask the acting governor's assent and he did not specifically give his approval, but he congratulated it on preventing 'any Occasion of Difference betwixt His Majesty's Prerogative and the Liberty of the Subject.' [2] As Mr. Lindall was a prominent member of the House, this was a tribute to his pacific temperament and ability to get along with both sides.

The new acting governor was a native son of Massachusetts, the grandson of Richard Dummer, who was given the farm in Newbury where Governor Dummer

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[1] See p. 25.

[2] *Journals of the House of Representatives*, II, 227–36.

Academy now is. Richard's son Jeremy Dummer was the father of Jeremy Dummer, long the agent of the province in London, and also of Governor William Dummer, who was born in Boston, eventually inherited the farm in Newbury, and lived there much of his later life.[1]

Dummer was a man of integrity and good sense, and his government is always spoken of as a wise administration, though he had many serious problems to deal with. It was during his administration that the expedition was sent against Norridgewock which finally ended that center of Indian disturbance by the killing of the notorious chiefs Mogg and Bomazeen and of the Jesuit priest, Father Rasle, who had incited many of the Indian raids.[2] At this time also the idea of organizing bands of rangers, who should range the northern woods and forestall Indian raids by carrying the war into the Indian country, seems to have been started. Lovewell's famous fight at the pond in Fryeburg, Maine, was the fruit of this policy.[3] For six years Dummer defended the frontiers and wisely administered the internal affairs of the province with little friction, while Shute stayed in London and complained about his turbulent province. He had decided at length to return to Massachusetts when the death of King George the First vacated his commission and Governor William Burnet of New York was appointed by the new king to take his place, though William Dummer still remained as his lieutenant.

Governor Burnet was the son of the famous Bishop of Salisbury and was an accomplished, experienced man of engaging personality and admirable personal qualities, but he had little patience with the obstinate General Court, which intended to manage the province according to its own ideas. The old feud, started under Governor Shute over the question of whether the governor should be granted a fixed salary or be remunerated by annual grants of money, broke out immediately. The governor claimed that his instructions from the king required him to demand a fixed salary, the Court politely but firmly refused, and the question occupied most of the time of both sides for the next two years.[1] Burnet arrived in Boston in July, 1728, and the controversy grew hotter during August and September. Some of the representatives favored getting the opinion of their constituents to support their point of view.

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[1] Coffin: *Newbury*, 392; Palfrey, IV, 431.

[2] Rasle: *Letters*, 1 M.H.S.C., VIII, 245, 266.

[3] *New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, VII, 61–69; Parkman: *Half Century of Conflict*, I, 260–71, *New England Quarterly*, IX, 378.

In Salem, Benjamin Lynde, Jr., the representative to the General Court, advised with the selectmen about what should best be done, and they in turn consulted with the leading gentlemen of the town, but did not call the inhabitants together or take a general vote.[2] The inhabitants of Boston, however, passed a vote definitely against fixing the governor's salary. This so enraged the governor that on October 24 he ordered the Court adjourned to meet in Salem on October 31.[3] He did this both as a punishment to Boston for its assumption and also, perchance, with the thought that Salem might prove a more congenial atmosphere.[4]

Thus it came about that the seat of government moved once again to Salem and the town was busy with the coming and going of representatives and councillors, not to mention the arrival of the brilliant and intelligent governor himself. The Court met in the old Court House in

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[1] Hutchinson, II, 301.

[2] *Town Records;* see Felt, 1st, 387.

[3] Hutchinson, II, 315, 316.

[4] *Journals of the House of Representatives*, VIII, 361.

Court Street, now called Washington Street, which stood in the middle of the street near the south end of the tunnel. This was not the house in which the witches had been tried and condemned, but it was to witness the meeting of the Provincial Congress nearly half a century later, just previous to the outbreak of the Revolution.

There were ninety-four members of the Court who had presented their credentials when the Court first met in May and some forty of the towns were not represented, but how many representatives turned up in Salem does not appear.[1] The Honorable William Dudley of Roxbury was Speaker, the Honorable Elisha Cooke, Thomas Cushing, and others represented Boston. Judge John Quincy of Braintree was there.[2] Richard Saltonstall, Esq., was present from Haverhill, and Joshua Orne, Esq., from Marblehead. From the Connecticut valley came Samuel Day of Springfield and Eben Wright of Northampton; Major Amos Turner and Captain John Alden were among the Plymouth delegation. George Bunker, Esq., came up from Nantucket, and Mr. John Stover and Elisha Plaisted from the county of York in Maine, reckoned then as a part of Massachusetts. Not less than twenty-four had a military rank of captain or higher and at least eighteen were 'esquires.'

The Council met in Salem also and contained the most distinguished men of the colony. Samuel Browne, Benjamin Lynde, Jr., John Turner, and Timothy Lindall represented Salem. Among those from Boston and vicinity were Adam Winthrop, grandson of the Governor; Paul Dudley, son of the late Governor Joseph Dudley; and Thomas Hutchinson. Nathaniel Byfield and Isaac Winslow appeared for the old Plymouth Colony, while John

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[1] *Journals of the House of Representatives*, VIII, 173.

[2] *Sewall Papers*, 6 M.H.S.C., II, 256.

Wheelwright and William Pepperrell, later famous as the conqueror of Louisburg, came to represent the landholders in Maine. Spencer Phipps, the son of Sir William, was the sole representative of eastern Maine beyond the Kennebec. The gathering was one as distinguished as the province could supply.

The session opened with a speech from the governor admonishing the representatives to attend to the matter of the salary and a protest from them at being obliged to meet in Salem. The session was not a happy one, and many days the members simply met and adjourned, till finally they were prorogued on December 22. The governor refused to sign their pay checks as a further method of pressure to force them to adjust the salary matter, but ostensibly because it was no more legal to pay them than to pay a salary to the governor.[1]

Salem did its best to receive the distinguished guests. They had the new Town and Court House put in condition for their accommodation even if it did cost £6–0–8,[2] but perhaps the Court House was not properly heated, for, on December 12, the governor permitted an adjournment to the Ship Tavern.[3] The town was not used to such a crowd, and no doubt many of the members found accommodation in private houses with friends, for the taverns could not possibly have taken them all.

When the governor himself reached Salem, he was welcomed with the firing of salutes from the great guns hauled up from the fort by Thomas Archer.[4] It is not clear whether the militia was turned out to welcome him, but presumably it was, and Malachi Foot was later paid twenty-five shillings for his expenses in firing the guns 'at the Governor's coming to Town in October last.' [1]

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[1] *Journals of the House of Representatives*, VIII, 370.

[2] *Town Records*, Jan. 6, 1729.

[3] *Journals of the House of Representatives*, VIII, 380.

[4] *Town Records*, March 3, 1729.

As the Brownes were the most considerable people of the town, it is probable that the Honorable Samuel Browne entertained Governor Burnet and his lady during the session. This seems the more likely because a few years later his son William married one of the governor's daughters and built for her the famous Browne Hall on Folly Hill. The Brownes lived in the best style of the time and were possessed of ample wealth based, not only on trade, but also on land grants and farms scattered all over Massachusetts and Connecticut. Mr. Browne's home was a handsome house for its time on the Main Street, just a little west of the present Armory.

Possibly the governor may have made his home with the councillor, the Honorable Benjamin Lynde, who lived a little farther west on the other side of the street at the corner of the present Liberty Street. Samuel Browne's wife had died a few years before, but Judge Lynde's household was presided over by the beautiful Mary Browne Lynde, whose fine portrait graces the walls of the Essex Institute.[2] Mr. Lynde also had a farm at Castle Hill, to reach which the family rowed across the Mill Pond and which they often visited on excursions and picnics.[3] The Mill Pond was then a large and beautiful sheet of water of many acres. It almost surrounded Castle Hill and nearly connected with Forest River.

Wherever the governor stayed, he was doubtless well treated, as he was personally an affable and attractive person. Not getting anything out of the spring session of the Court, he dissolved it April 18 and called for a new

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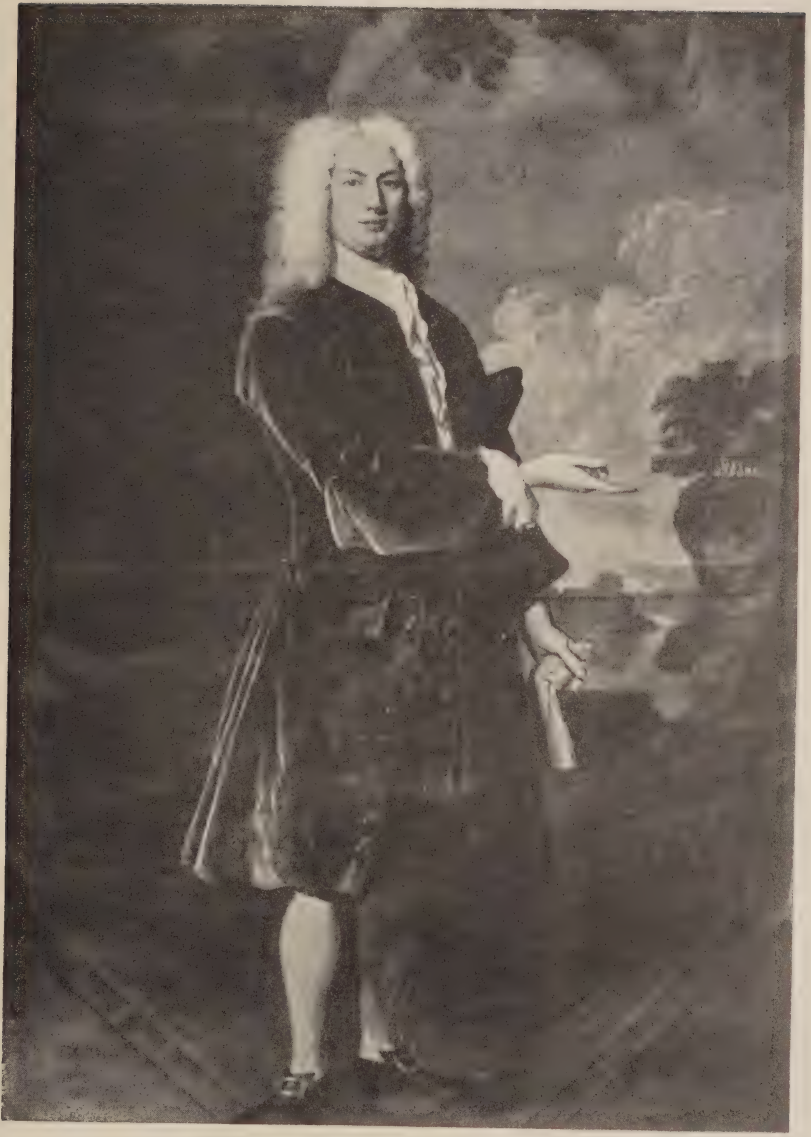
[1] *Town Records*, March 3, 1729.

[2] Said to be a copy of that owned by Mrs. F. S. Moseley.

[3] *Lynde Diaries*, 58, 80.



HONORABLE WILLIAM BROWNE, 1709–1763
Representative, Member of the Council

election. The combination of the meeting of the General Court in town and the election seemed to call for unusual precautions and preparations. An order is recorded at the selectmen's meeting on May 17 that 'the outside paint of the Court House being very much worn off and defaced, it is thought best to have it now new done wherefore the Selectmen have Agreed with John Holliman to new paint all the outside' for eight pounds and ten shillings.[1] Further at the same meeting, it was

> *Ordered* That there be A hired Watch of two & four men added to the Bellmans Watch the Election Week, two men the night before & after the Election day night, and four the night Immediatly after the Election, to prevent & Suppress all disorders & Tumults that may arise from so great A Concourse of people, as usually — there are on Such publick Occasions —

By the bill approved a month later, it appeared that the men hired were 'Sam^{ll} verry, Gam^{ll} Hodges, Thomas Laskin, Joshua Wetherell, and William Allen,' and that they were paid three shillings per night. What disorder, if any, there was we do not know, but only Samuel Verry worked two nights, so perhaps they did not have to increase the 'Bellman's Watch' as much as expected.

The new Court duly met in Salem, but its temper was as bad as that of the old one. It lasted only one day and was prorogued till June 25. The governor disapproved two of the councillors whom it elected, and when it suggested it would elect an attorney-general, it was handed an extract from the king's instructions to the governor claiming that the nomination of attorney-general was his undoubted right. The quarrel over salary went on vigorously on both sides. The Court was prorogued July 10 to meet again in Salem on August 20. Three days later it adjourned to meet in Cambridge, and the scene of the controversy shifted from Salem for forty years or so.[1] The governor had suggested sarcastically that the transfer to Salem (City of Peace) might improve the temper of the members, but it had not proved so.

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[1] *Town Records*, May 12, 1729.

Just a week after the Court was transferred to Cambridge, the governor's carriage upset as he drove toward the ferry and he was thrown into the water. He escaped safely, but took a heavy cold from which he died in a few days. The Court relaxed its severity toward the man, if not to the governor, and voted him a sumptuous funeral and two thousand pounds to his children.

Again Lieutenant-Governor Dummer came to the control of affairs. He refused to continue the salary discussion by simply refusing a grant, but little was accomplished in the nine or ten months that he held office before Jonathan Belcher arrived as governor. Dummer was then supplanted as Lieutenant-Governor by William Tailer, whom he had succeeded fifteen years before. Excepting a short term as councillor, he never again held public office, though he lived for over thirty years after. It must have been during his term as acting governor that he built the beautiful mansion at Newbury, which, as the residence of the head master of the Academy he founded, stands as an evidence of good taste and quiet rectitude that has not been excelled by later generations. No doubt he now spent far more time there, and the simple duties of farm supervision and the quiet beauty of his surroundings were more satisfying than the turmoil of public life. There he was on the main highway eastward, and the envoys to meet the Indian chiefs in Maine, the judges en route to York Court, and officers hurrying back and forth to their posts in the Indian country beyond the Kennebec all turned in at the thirty-third milestone out of Boston on the Old Bay Road to greet the worthy gentleman or take a meal with him.

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[1] *Journals of the House of Representatives*, IX, 1–56.

Jonathan Belcher, a Boston man and a graduate of Harvard College, but at the time agent of the colony in England, was the next governor. He was not a statesman or a man of any great ability, but he had the winning ways and the small arts in evidence in the petty politicians of every epoch, and kept his place for a matter of ten years.

CHAPTER IX

THE DIVISION IN THE FIRST CHURCH

PERHAPS nothing can give a better idea of the seriousness with which the laymen of the Puritan churches regarded their duties than to record step by step the events which led to the rupture in the first Church and the dismissal of Mr. Fiske as pastor. This was evidently a serious affair in the lives of these men, and it attracted the attention of all the churches of the whole province and finally got into the General Court itself.

It had always been the custom of the Salem minister to give a mid-week lecture about fortnightly, and this had continued from the beginning down to the advent of Mr. Fiske. In the course of the controversy, he claimed that he had never agreed to preach a lecture when he came to the church, but nevertheless he did during his first years.[1] The matter was considered at a church meeting in 1718, the whole controversy hinging on whether at that meeting a vote was or was not taken. At any rate, the lectures were continued for a considerable time, at least six or seven years. Apparently they were not very successful in attracting an audience, so somewhat after February, 1726, Mr. Fiske got disgusted with the limited attention paid to his efforts and, after due announcement, discontinued them on his own initiative. This at once caused adverse comment, which in turn nettled the pastor, and in March, 1728, he preached a sermon from Ecclesiastes v, 4, 5, and 6, on the nature of vows, in which he said that church votes were vows to God, and that the men of his congregation who had voted for the lecture and then failed to support it were guilty of 'Sacriledge and Perjury,' and that he could not preach the lecture with a clear conscience so long as those vows were unfulfilled.[1]

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[1] *Narrative of Controversy*, 79, Captain Barnard's evidence.

Mr. Lindall apparently had a talk with Mr. Fiske in which the pastor said that the vote had not been recorded, though voted, and that he would record it and put every member of the church under the sin of perjury unless they would support the lecture.[2]

There were various meetings at which this question of the recording of the vote came up. One was at Deacon Peter Osgood's to draw up a petition for reviving the lecture, at which John Ruck presented a copy of the church record shown him by Mr. Fiske in which there was no vote.[3]

Some time after the famous sermon, a few of the men waited on Mr. Fiske at his home to discuss the matter, and, finding such a vote recorded, Mr. Marston said to Mr. Fiske, 'Sir, I will ask you a plain question to which I desire you would give me a plain direct answer.'

'Well, what is it?' said Mr. Fiske.

'Was the above-mentioned vote concerning the lecture recorded when you recorded the other votes passed at the meeting?'

Mr. Fiske evaded the question, and the talk drifted off into a discussion of how soon votes must be recorded.[4] This evasiveness did not please some of the leading men like Judge Lynde and his son and others, and they went with Colonel Browne to his house and became more suspicious of the validity of the vote than before the conference.[5]

In browsing over the musty pamphlets of the controversy of over two hundred years ago with the impartial and impersonal attitude granted by time, it looks very much as if Mr. Fiske, in a moment of irritation over the non-attendance of his people at his lecture, which was probably unutterably boresome, decided to give them a thorough tongue-lashing and went a bit too far. When called to account, he started to manufacture a little evidence to prove his case, and that made matters worse before a group of stern men who believed their immortal souls were in jeopardy. These appear to be the essential facts of the dispute.

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[1] *Narrative of Controversy*, 74; evidence of Nutting, West, and Giles.

[2] *Ibid.*, 80–81.

[3] *Ibid.*, 81; Lindall's evidence.

[4] *Ibid.*, 87.

[5] *Ibid.*, 86.

The quarrel did not, however, prevent Mr. Fiske from preaching 'a very agreable Sermon' from the seventy-eighth psalm on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the church, August 6, 1729, at which thirteen ministers and 'a considerable confluence of people' were present.[1]

The church was pretty evenly divided as to members, but the weight of intelligence, wealth, and influence was clearly against Mr. Fiske. As far as can be judged from signatures to various letters and petitions, those supporting Mr. Fiske were:

Deacon Peter Osgood
Samuel Ruck
James Ruck
Samuel King
John Holliman
Ephraim Skerry
Benjamin Gerrish
Edward Norice
John Mackmallon
Ebenezer Felton
Benjamin Young
Jonathan Woodwell
Edmund Batter
John Coles
Thomas Willis
John Giles
Samuel Symonds
Timothy Pickering
Charles King
Ahijah Estes
John Gavet
Joseph Orne
John Mascall
Nathaniel Osgood

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When the church council later laid the ban of excommunication on the church, they excepted the following persons as innocent,[1] which implies that they were of the opposition:

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[1] *New England Weekly Journal*, Aug. 18, 1729; see E.I.H.C., xxviii, 179.

Benjamin Lynde, Esq.
James Lindall, Esq.
Benjamin Marston, Esq.
Benjamin Lynde, Jr., Esq.
Col. Thomas Barton
Capt. Joseph Hathorne
Capt. Jonathan Gardner
Samuel Osgood
John Bickford
Henry West
Samuel Ropes
Nathanael Phippen
John Nutting
Samuel West
Nathanael Ropes
George Daland
Samuel Giles
James Grant
John Archer
Miles Ward, Jr.
Benjamin Lambert
John Beckford, Jr.
James Odel
23

No church meeting had been held for nearly ten years and men had begun to withdraw from communion, so the influential people like Judge Lynde and Mr. Lindall felt that steps should be taken to settle the controversy. In March, 1732, a letter was written to Mr. Fiske, charging him with the facts as stated above, but ending, 'These are the principal matters of our offence.' Instead of meeting the issue, Mr. Fiske seized upon these words and refused to answer unless all charges were stated, and though the 'aggrieved brethren' offered to waive all others if they could be satisfied on these, he would make no reply and would not even agree to meet the men and talk it over. This attitude one cannot but feel was a small-minded one. His opponents, like Judge Lynde and his son, Mr. Lindall, Mr. Marston, and Colonel Barton, were able, fair-minded men and showed an intention to give him every chance, but they were determined to get a settlement. They asked for a private interview, then a church meeting, then an ecclesiastical council jointly sponsored, and, when he ignored all requests during a period running from March, 1732, to June, 1733, they demanded a council themselves, and invited the Boston ministers, as well as those from Andover, Gloucester, Haverhill, and Medford, to come to

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[1] *Proceedings of the Council*, 92.

Salem on July 17, 1733, and hear the case. This was after they had appealed privately to the Boston ministers, who were promptly rebuffed by Mr. Fiske in their attempts to mediate.

The council, which eventually consisted of ten churches, duly met and invited Mr. Fiske to produce his evidence and the church records. This he refused to do, as the council was called without his consent, so it heard the evidence on the other side and published its findings 'with the Reverend pastor, Mr. Samuel Fiske, with a Majority of the Church refusing to act in calling said Council.' It decided that the 'aggrieved brethren' had acted in a suitable manner and that the pastor and a considerable number of the other brethren had treated them in an unreasonable and arbitrary fashion. It also sustained the four charges in the original letter. Then it exhorted both sides to patch up the difficulty, and if that seemed impossible, granted the 'aggrieved brethren' permission to join in communion with neighboring churches.

As might have been expected, there was small result from this and the controversy went on. Mr. Fiske wrote, August 30, 1733, 'You may not expect the result of your council should be decisive with me'; but the aggrieved persisted in presenting the matter both to him and to the remaining brethren as long as there was any chance at all.

In February, 1734, the Second Church of Boston, which had been represented in the council, sent a letter suggesting a visitation by messengers. Mr. Fiske and his friends endeavored to stave this off, but the messengers came, nevertheless, with no particular results, so the Second Church sent a letter of admonition calling special attention to the fact that no church meeting had been held for many years. Mr. Fiske would not receive their letter, so the church sent a more severe one and threatened to call a meeting of four churches to help them, which they did on April 23, 1734. This meeting prepared a second admonition to Mr. Fiske, and sent out a call for a synod of some twenty-four churches to meet in Salem July 16, 1734.

Meanwhile, the 'aggrieved brethren' again tried to meet the rest of the church, but only two or three of the opposition came. They tried to deliver the message of admonition to Mr. Fiske, but could not find him at home, so, having an idea he might be at Doctor Ghatman's, they followed thither and found him. Mr. Fiske came to the door, but, when they began to speak, said if it was about those ministers who had been in town, he would not hear it. He drew back from the door, but they followed him in, taking out the admonition to present. On which he hastened to the back door and, saying, 'I can't,' or 'I shan't hear you,' opened the door and went out.

The council duly met, but the church and Mr. Fiske still refused to take any part, and some of the ministers friendly to him withdrew, but the meeting went on and a letter of 'Solemn Advice' was sent to the First Church in Salem again advising the calling of a church meeting.[1] Contented with this, the council adjourned to meet again in October to see the effects of their efforts.

Meanwhile, the 'aggrieved brethren' met the following week at the house of Benjamin Lynde, Jr., to consider withdrawing in a body from a church which refused all admonition.[2] The Fiske party was also getting alarmed and tried to coax the aggrieved party to join them in petitioning for a revival of the lecture, but their efforts failed. A long and heated parish meeting was held in September at which it was finally voted that no money be raised for Mr. Fiske 'on account of his ill treating his church and people.'[1] This was the first indication that the Fiske party was losing ground, but when the council met in October, it became still more apparent. An effort was made to get Mr. Fiske's first letter of reply before the council, and it was finally read and its reasoning denied categorically.[2] After presenting its findings, the council pronounced a sentence of non-communion against the pastor and the church. The offending church was now expelled from the fellowship of the New England churches, and, furthermore, the 'Aggrieved brethren' were specifically exempted from this sentence.[3]

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[1] *Faithful Narrative of Ecclesiastical Council at Salem*, 1734.

[2] B. Lynde, Jr.: *Diary*, 141.

This was all very well, but Mr. Fiske was still pastor, though without pay, and a church meeting to expel him had to be called by him and he would not call it. Matters dragged on till spring, except that Mr. Fiske declared a fast on December 4 with prayer for a revival of religion throughout the world and particularly on account of the society's difficulties.[4] However, this did not settle anything.

On March 10, 1735, the crisis arrived. A very large parish meeting was held, lasting for hours, with vast numbers present and endless disputes. After a long contest Benjamin Lynde, Jr., of the aggrieved side, was chosen moderator by seventy-two votes to Captain Osgood's thirty-eight. After that Lynde's side carried everything, voted Mr. Fiske out, and authorized a committee to effectuate the vote.[5] A month later, the twenty-two disaffected members wrote Mr. Fiske for a church meeting. In the afternoon they dismissed him and hired Samuel Mather to supply the pulpit, but they had previously consulted together as to their rights in the matter. In this consultation Judge Lynde, Colonel Marston, Colonel Browne, and other influential men were present, so the movement was taking definite shape.[1] The matter was brought up in the spring town meeting and the decisions on representatives to the General Court depended on whether they were Fiske men or not. The Fiske men were defeated, 137 to 75.[2]

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[1] B. Lynde, Jr.: *Diary*, 142.

[2] B. Lynde: *Diary*, 61.

[3] There is among the Wheatland MSS. (VII, 32) the draft of a protest from the excommunicated members, carefully engrossed but apparently never signed, which bears the name of Sarah Orne.

[4] Felt, 1st, 409.

[5] B. Lynde, Jr.: *Diary*, 142.

On April 27, the only undignified performance of the whole contest occurred. Mr. Fiske headed a mob to prevent Mr. Mather from preaching.[3] He succeeded in this, but was told he would be prevented himself, so retired and asked the audience to follow. In the afternoon, he tried to preach, but was prevented.[4]

This was too much, and a few days later a committee of five members of the council and House of Representatives came down by government order to inquire into the disturbance and Mr. Fiske was bound over to his good behavior.[5] James Ruck and Timothy Pickering went surety for him, and in a very full Court in July the case was brought up, but the bondsmen were not released.

Whatever may be thought of his conduct, there is no question but that the Fiske party were good fighters. The judicial, civic, and ecclesiastical authorities were all against them now, but the end was not yet. They promptly started to build a new meeting-house for Mr. Fiske.[6] The leading men of the town at once petitioned the General Court to stop it, and the Court immediately forbade any proceedings till further orders.[7] The

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[1] B. Lynde: *Diary*, 63.

[2] B. Lynde, Jr.: *Diary*, 143.

[3] James Jeffrey: *Interleaved Almanac*, E.I.H.C., II, 65.

[4] *Records of the Court of General Sessions.*

[5] James Jeffrey: *Almanac*, E.I.H.C., II, 65.

[6] B. Lynde, Jr.: *Diary*, 144.

[7] *Journals of the House of Representatives*, XIII, 103.

Court also sent a committee to Salem to hold hearings, which Mr. Fiske refused to attend, as he was not addressed, 'Pastor of the First Church of Salem,' and finally voted to relieve the First Church of any responsibility for paying Mr. Fiske, and forbade him to erect his meeting-house nearer than two hundred and twenty yards from where the First Church stood.[1] Mr. Fiske, Mr. Kitchin, Mr. Orne, and Mr. Jeffrey made a vigorous attempt to prevent the Governor from signing the order,[2] but apparently did not succeed. Mr. Fiske was now powerless to interfere further with the First Church, but he took away the record book, which was not returned till after the death of his son seventy-five years later, and the dispute over the church silver was not adjusted for many years.[3]

Early in the year 1738 was begun the reorganization of the church after this long period of strife. The Reverend John Sparhawk began to preach more or less regularly, and in April many of the members 'met to form a confederacy for the maintaining of public worship'[4] in the old meeting-house. This was perfected at a meeting at the house of Benjamin Lynde, Jr., June 1, when a committee was appointed to confer at the Reverend Mr. Prescott's with the association of their part of Essex County.[5] The whole matter came to a head August 5, when the members again met at Benjamin Lynde, Jr's., renewed their church covenant with more explicit declarations,[6] and voted to call the Reverend John Sparhawk by a substantial majority. This was not done without protracted discussion, and Colonel Marston seems to have been the chief objector.[1] Mr. Sparhawk accepted the call and was with due ceremony installed on December 8. It is not to be wondered at that the younger Lynde recorded that night in his diary, 'God make and continue him a rich and extensive blessing to the Church and people here!' On November 4, 1736, Samuel Ropes was chosen deacon and Benjamin Lynde, Sr., and John Nutting, ruling elders, so the church organization was complete.[2]

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[1] *Journals of the House of Representatives*, XIII, 170–73, 202.

[2] James Jeffrey: *Almanac*, E.I.H.C., II, 66.

[3] D. A. White: *New England Congregationalism*, 118; Bentley: *Diary*, IV, 25.

[4] B. Lynde, Jr.: *Diary*, 144.

[5] *Ibid.*, 73.

[6] D. A. White: *New England Congregationalism*, 112.

The Reverend John Sparhawk came from Bristol, which was then a part of Massachusetts, but his wife was a granddaughter of Major Stephen Sewall of Salem, which may account for his interest in the town. He was only twenty-three years of age when he came, and his youth accounts, no doubt, for his daring to step into such a troubled situation. He was a big, dignified man and became greatly beloved. He continued in the pastorate until his early death in 1755.[3]

One final and pleasant touch ended the famous conflict. On Christmas Day a letter came from Deacon Peter Osgood, who had led the opposition, signifying his uneasiness and his desire to rejoin the church. The brethren unanimously voted their satisfaction and heartily received him to their communion, and, stranger and pleasanter still, 'Voted that our brother Peter Osgood be continued in the office of Deacon.'[4]

Mr. Fiske, who had rendered himself obnoxious to the people of the First Church by what Doctor Bentley later called 'his high thoughts of church authority,' organized his people into a society, later known as the Third Church, though Mr. Fiske never admitted it was not the first. He was a man of excellent ability, but apparently lacked good judgment and breadth of mind. He stayed with the church, now known as the Tabernacle, only nine years and was then dismissed. After a short ministry in Chelmsford, he returned to Salem and died there.

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[1] *Lynde Diaries*, 80, 81, 145.

[2] *First Church Records*, quoted in Felt, 1st, 412.

[3] D. A. White: *New England Congregationalism*, 296.

[4] *First Church Records*, December, 1736.

The Second Church, which had taken its peaceful departure before the quarrel with Mr. Fiske began, seems at first to have been unfortunate only in the length of its pastorates. The Reverend Robert Stanton died in less than eight years, and the Reverend William Jennison, who succeeded him, resigned after the same period, but the Reverend James Diman never resigned and did not die till fifty-one years after his ordination. Judging from some of Doctor Bentley's statements, it might have been better if the hand of the Lord had removed him a little sooner.

CHAPTER X

TOWN LIFE IN THE TWENTIES AND THIRTIES

IN SPITE of the background of Indian warfare that had broken out to the eastward in 1719 and the hazards of friends in the little boats constantly putting to sea, life was still not too dull for the young people of Salem, the dangers near at hand even lending a spice of excitement to the daily routine. Two young men of the time have left us journals which at least give glimpses of their daily life. One of these was Benjamin Lynde, Jr., son of that Justice Benjamin Lynde who had succeeded Samuel Sewall in 1729 as chief justice of Massachusetts. At twenty-one he took a master's degree at Harvard, later he was a judge, a member of the governor's council for many years, and finally for a brief period chief justice, but the present interest in him is as a young man about town. On June 27, 1721, he went to Cambridge for his final graduation and made these entries in his diary:

> 28th Commencement; I took 2d degree; at night at Hobart's with Savage, Belcher, Noys, etc. Merry evening; went home with them; after, at Wolcott's till 11 o'clock; then at Colo. Goffe's.
>
> 29th. Fair; was at Barrett's etc; at night with Eyre, Nelson, etc.; up comon, and at Wolcott's.
>
> 30th. Dined Colo. Batchelder's; treat at night. Court at Colledge, at Bulfinch's etc.
>
> July 18 Fair; Came from Cambridge; got home at 12.[1]

This round of merry evenings, dinners, and treats sounds as if the young men knew how to have a good time, even if they did wear beaver hats with brims seven inches wide and square-toed shoes which still laced instead of being ornamented with buckles and had not yet adopted the wigs soon to be fashionable.[1] Eyre and Bulfinch were classmates and the others were in adjacent classes. Jonathan Wolcott was also a fellow townsman. A year or two later a boy went to Harvard who was not so fortunate, and a pathetic story is told in brief in the corporation records of 1723:

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[1] B. Lynde, Jr.: *Diary*, 132.

> Whereas Sam^{l} Brown, Eldest Son of Sam^{l} Brown, Esq. of Salem, now about to be admitted into the College, is a Youth that labours under that bodiely Infirmity w^{ch} disables him from the going on Errands, as is usual for the Fresh-men to do, and
>
> Whereas his Hon^{ble} Ancest^{ors} have been Generous Benefact^{ors} to the College to the Value of Eight hundred pounds
>
> And also whereas his Hon$^{\cdot d}$ Father has now pposed his Son's presenting the College with Ap^{c} of Plate upon his Admission, of much greater Value than w^{d} Entitle him to the Priviledges & Hon^{rs} of a Fellow-Commoner.
>
> It is therefore Order'd by the Corporacon that the s^{d} Samuel Brown shalbe entirely Exempt from going of Errands, during his Freshman-ship.[2]

Presumably Samuel was excused from the errands, but sad to relate, he graduated in 1727 without ever giving the piece of plate. Probably the college authorities could not make up their minds what they wanted, so nine years later the father, Samuel Browne, left them sixty pounds to purchase a handsome piece of plate with his arms upon it.[3] This loving-cup with a cover, made by John Burt, is owned by the college today.

A few days after Lynde came home, we find him playing 'keels' with 'Icha,' then going around to 'Prat's,' and finally taking supper with Madam Browne. What 'keels' were is not clear, but 'Icha' was undoubtedly his friend, Ichabod Plaisted, and 'Prat's' was the Ship Tavern. Within a week Madam Browne's daughter, Mr.

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[1] *Memoir of E. A. Holyoke.* [2] *College Book*, IV, 93. [3] *Ibid.*, III, 105.

Fiske (presumably the Reverend Samuel), and Mr. Plaisted were dining with him. A husking at Colonel Browne's was not enough for a day, so he visited at Edward Kitchin's with Wolcott till ten o'clock. Training day was cold, so they warmed up at Pratt's 'with a great company of young folks.' [1]

Of the events of the year 1724, we have a clearer picture, because James Jeffrey of Portsmouth had come to Salem at the age of sixteen and also kept a journal. Apparently he was apprenticed to, or at least employed by, one of the Brownes, but he was a live boy and interested in town doings. His constant entries of the arrival and sailing of ships show the background of commercial activity to the lesser town events. Captain Willard and Captain Hathorne both sailed for Fayal in January. Captain Rymes arrived in Marblehead in May in a very leaky ship from the Bay of Honduras. The very famous episode of Captain Haraden of Cape Ann is tersely told: 'Pirate Sloop [Philips and Nutt] were brought into Cape Ann: May 1: 1724, Philip's head: & Nutts by Harradin & Comp^a.' [2] The taking of Norridgewock and the slaying of Father Rasle is mentioned casually: 'Mem^o. Cap^t Harman Kild abo 70 or 80 Indians & Gott 27 scalps besides y^e fryars and was made Colonell Aug. 26, 1724.' [3]

Most of February Jeffrey spent at home at Piscataqua. He reached Newbury the first night, but next morning had trouble crossing the ferry on account of the sea. Nevertheless, he reached home at one o'clock and was not too tired to be drinking tea at night at Madam Browne's with Mistress Olive Parker. During his three weeks at home, he seems to have had a gay time almost every night, and Olive Parker is apt to be mentioned by name rather than included in the final '& ca.' Perhaps she is the explanation of his having his hair cut off and having a new horsehair wig of Titcomb's.

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[1] B. Lynde, Jr.: *Diary*, 132.

[2] James Jeffrey: *Journal of year 1724*, E.I.H.C., xxxvi, 331.

[3] *Ibid.*, 332.

He was back in Salem by the end of February and engaged in the prosaic work of unloading the ships back from Virginia. One of them went ashore on Jeggle's Island, but got off. The one interesting entry of the month was March 12, 'Saw ye Peacock spread his tail.' This may have been the first peacock ever to visit the city.

Life was still more lively for Benjamin Lynde, son of the eminent judge, for on February 10 he was making a night of it at Ichabod Plaisted's with Mr. Beechy, Mr. Barton, and Mr. Wolcott, and within a month there was a great supper at Edward Kitchin's. Mitchell Sewall, later to be a justice, was there, and so was Ichabod Plaisted, who was destined to be colonel of the South Essex Regiment. John Nutting, the schoolmaster, was another guest, and so were Jonathan Wolcott and Benjamin Marston, soon to be representatives in the General Court. One of the Brownes was present, probably Benjamin, later a colonel, and also a Mr. Black.

James Jeffrey does not mention this party; probably he was too young to be included. He seems to have been chiefly interested in loading and unloading the ships at that time. The salt ships came in from Saltatuda. Captain Beadle arrived from Calles; Captain Hathorne came back from Fayal and brought Captain Willard with him, as the latter had lost his ship there. Jeffrey had an unfortunate trip to Marblehead with Sarah Wade, where he lost his pocket-book with eleven shillings and sixpence. Olive Parker turned up on a visit and stayed about three weeks, but a few days later the arrival of Mistress Mary Wheelwright, presumably from Piscataqua, seemed to be worthy of his notice.

During August, Benjamin Lynde seems to have had a fine time. He spent some time at his father's farm at Castle Hill and built an arbor there. He visited at Colonel Browne's, and a few days later went to a grand hog barbecue at his farm. It was, he says, a great frolic. There were eleven calashes, besides those who came on horseback. The secret of the frolic seems to be the brief entry, 'Boston ladies,' but he does not tell us who they were. The frolic went on to Mr. Pickman's and ended up at Colonel John Turner's. Perhaps the frolic was too much for the party, for they seem to have done nothing the next day, but the day after, Benjamin Marston gave a frolic at 'the Island,' which was probably Baker's. He says, 'We went in Captain Ellis' boat, took them with guns, etc.' It is to be inferred that 'them' refers to the Boston ladies, but it would be interesting to get a bit better acquainted with them. There they pass out of sight, and the next event is training day with a supper afterwards at Colonel Turner's. A few days later there was another training, chiefly of the troops of horse, and it ended with a supper at Pratt's with the usual group, Plaisted, Marston, Kitchin, Sewall, Wolcott, Price, and Nash, as well as others. One feels that the group are becoming real when suddenly the diary skips over six whole years and the thread is broken.

James Jeffrey goes on, however, and briefly describes a trip in a calash to Cambridge with Benjamin and William Browne. A couple of vessels came in from Bilboa under Captain Mihall Driver and Captain Nathaniel Woodbridge. A ship was launched. A sloop with a lot of their English merchandise sank on the way to Boston. Finally, on Christmas Day, Jeffrey arrived at the dignity of spending an evening at Pratt's with Kitchin, Sewall, and Captain Benjamin Woodbridge, of the brigantine *Abigail*

Dove. This seems to have been a sort of farewell party for the Captain, who sailed a day or two later for Barbados with Captain Thomas Ellis, of the ship *Essex*.

Before we allow James Jeffrey to pass out of the picture, it would be a pity to omit the letter of congratulations which his mother, Mrs. Anna Jeffrey, wrote him a few years later when he announced his intention of marrying Ruth Pratt, daughter of John Pratt, the innkeeper. 'I think it flattery,' writes his spicy mother, 'to ask consent when you are resolved: the woman you mention is wholly a stranger to me both her person and character — but if she be agreeable to you and you are satisfied and she be a modest woman I shall be silent.' [1]

This picture of life in Salem, as seen through the eyes of two young men, probably did not change much from year to year for a decade or two, but the background did. The Salem of 1720 had progressed a long way from that of the early days. The seacoast trading-post had developed into a cosmopolitan town with a rich hinterland and an ocean-wide trade at its front. Very little of the original harbor had been filled in, and the basin where the railroad station now stands was still large and commodious for many of the small ships of the day. The wharves at the foot of Norman Street and along Front Street were probably little more than a buttressing of the steep bank which ran directly beside the deep water, kept clear by the current, so the small ships could lie alongside parallel to the shore. This current must have been strong and swift, for there was much fear that the Burial Point would be washed away and the town took many precautions to prevent such a disaster.[2] The only wharves below the Point were those of Deacon Osgood at the foot of Walnut

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[1] Geo. Cleveland: *Journal*, Essex Inst. MSS.

[2] *Town Records*, March 2, 1714/15; March 18, 1717/18.

Street and some near the foot of Turner Street, the largest of which belonged to Colonel John Turner.

Of the three great wharves of later days, namely, Derby Wharf, Phillips Wharf, and Union Wharf, the latter was about to be started. The idea of connecting Jeggle's Island with the shore, which really made Union Wharf, seems to have been thought of at about this time. The island was granted to Thomas Gardner in 1684 and descended to his daughter, Mary, who married Captain William Bowditch, and he deeded it in 1726 to the proprietors of the Union Wharf, of whom he was one.[1] It is interesting to notice that three years later, two aged gentlemen swore that they had helped take a vessel of two hundred tons through this channel north of the island, so the blocking of it by connection with the shore indicated that the channel on the other side was better yet.[2] This seems to have been the beginning of this great wharf, which was the most important in the city for the next fifty years.

There were important wharves on the North River near the present site of North Bridge, which was not built till 1744. The river there was deep and navigable, and even the shipyards near Boston Street had no trouble in getting their ships to sea.[3] A little later than this, the sloping beach back of Federal Street was covered, all the way from North Street to Fint Street, with fish flakes which belonged to Benjamin Pickman, and it is reasonable to suppose that fishermen were already using this ground in a smaller way.

In 1721, Winter Island, which had always been a place for drying fish, but seems to have been part of the common lands, appears to have been regranted to a group of 'shoaremen.' It is probable that the earlier grants, as well as this one, were for the use of the island for curing fish rather than a title to the property, but it is interesting to see who was then engaged in the fishing. Those who signed the indenture were:

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[1] *Essex Antiquarian*, x, 166; Essex Institute, *Salem Miscellaneous MSS.*, 1.

[2] Deposition, Feb. 23, 1729/30, Stephen Daniels and Samuel Foot, E.I.H.C., III, 289.

[3] Even as late as 1801, Pierce and Waite landed the cargo of the ship *Friendship* from St. Petersburg on their wharf on North River, just back of the Nichols house, where Mr. Pierce lived. E.I.H.C., XXXI, 122.

William Geggles
Joseph English
Samuel Foot
Josiah Willard
Malachi Foot
Paul Mansfield
Timothy Orne
George Felt
Richard Palmer
Josiah Orne

The fishing and commerce prospered and brought wealth to the town, but it was not without difficulties. The hostile Indians to the eastward, when the fishermen sought refuge in the smaller coves of the Nova Scotia coasts, surrounded the ketches and captured several of them. Then, turning them into privateers, they went in search of larger game. In 1724, after a petition to the General Court, an armed sloop was sent to stop their depredations.[1]

Apparently the fishing fleet, which often met the French fleet off Newfoundland, was not wholly engaged in innocent fishing. Many French wines and fabrics crept in by this illicit route, and finally the collector of customs complained that the vessels touched at the French port on Cape Breton and brought back these other things as well as fish and that the General Court would do nothing about it.[2]

One of the humorous attempts of the British government to tax Americans was the attempt to make the fishermen pay sixpence per voyage to support the Greenwich Hospital for seamen. No doubt this was a good cause, but the chance of any Salem fisherman ever reaching it alive, if in need of hospital service after a five weeks' voyage, was too slim to be worth considering.[3]

[1] Felt, 2d, II, 217.
[2] *Ibid.*, 254.
[3] *Ibid.*, 217.

Shipbuilding still went on. It did not require much of a plant. A sloping shore and a few sheds served all the necessary purposes. The Becket and Hardy yards at the foot of Becket Street, the old Lambert yard near Norman Street, and the establishment at Frye's Mills still turned out the sort of vessels needed.

Such other industries as the town had were household ones. Shoes were made in the little shoeshops and a considerable amount of cloth was woven. Under an act for the encouragement of cloth-making from native flax, John Thornton of Salem won the prize in 1723 for the best linen presented, which was appraised at five shillings sixpence a yard.[1]

All during this period there were constant attempts to counteract the rise in prices caused by the steady inflation of the paper currency, which, according to the unfailing economic law, made the poor poorer and the rich richer, but was also as usual chiefly advocated by the ignorant poor. For years the bakers were subjected to regulation by the selectmen. Loaves of certain weight must be sold at certain prices based on the price of wheat per bushel. In April, 1726, with wheat at eleven shillings per bushel, a fourpenny loaf must weigh sixteen ounces, twelve drams, and others in proportion.[2] These regulations changed from month to month and were clearly an attempt at a planned economy.

Salem during this period made a real start toward permanent educational facilities. Just before 1700, John Emerson had been called to teach Greek, Latin, writing, and ciphering, at fifty pounds a year, and he stayed till his death in 1712. Then the first school committee was organized, consisting of Samuel Browne, Josiah Wolcott, Stephen Sewall, John Higginson, Jr., and Walter Price.

[1] Felt, 2d, II, 160.

[2] *Town Records*, April, 1726.

An attempt was made to divide the school into an elementary or writing school and a Latin school or grammar school. Nathaniel Higginson took the former and John Barnard the latter. Obadiah Ayres succeeded Mr. Barnard the next year, to be shortly followed by Samuel Andrews. In 1718, he seems to have left suddenly, and Colonel Browne, to prevent the town from being prosecuted for not keeping a school, rushed Mr. Pratt off on horseback to Cambridge to the seat of learning to get a teacher and lent fifteen shillings to pay his expenses. John Nutting was secured and the matter was settled for about thirty years, for he stayed till 1749. John Swinnerton took charge of the lower school and kept it for the next ten years till he was succeeded by John Gerrish, who resigned the year before Mr. Nutting did, so that matters were pretty well settled during the next twenty years.

The number of scholars in the two schools seems to vary from thirty to fifty in each during this period. The support of the masters was provided for partly by tuition and partly by taxes and gifts. A little before this period the tuition had been four shillings sixpence a quarter, two shillings of which could be paid with three feet of cordwood. In 1712, the funds of the schools comprised the following sums, which had perhaps increased by 1720:

LATIN SCHOOL

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Rent of Dixey's Ferry to Marblehead	3	0	0
" " Massey's " " Beverly	10	0	0
" " Baker's Island [1]	3	0	0
" " Miseries (*sic*)	3	0	0
" " Ryall side (presumably land)	22	5	6
" " Burial Point Land		8	
£ 259 at 6% interest	15	10	9½
	57	4	3½

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[1] Baker's and Misery Islands were sold in 1731 to J. Turner and B. Marston, income to go for grammar school. Felt, 1st, 395.

WRITING SCHOOL

	£	s.	d.
Rent of 70 acres to Felton	1	15	3
" " adjoining land	1	4	0
" " Mr. Hirst for Thrasher's House		5	0
" " Joseph Southwick		2	0
" " Gamaliel Hodges		5	0
" " Thomas Bell		2	6
" " Mihill Bacon at Burial Point	1	8	0
" " Phelps — Tarbell & Putnam Land		12	0
John Cromwell's Gift £55 at 6%	3	6	0
	£8	19	9

Soon after 1725, the schools were to benefit largely by the bequests then given, but it seems only fair to list the names of the few early benefactors whose gifts comprised the money at interest in 1712. Many of these sums had increased by careful management.

		£	s.	d.
1678	Reverend Joseph Browne (son of William, Sr.) for the grammar school	50	0	0
1682	William Browne, Sr., for the grammar school	25	5	3
1687	William Browne, Sr., part of a farm for the grammar school		?	
1688	William Browne, Sr. bequest to lessen tuition charges	50	0	0
1700	John Cromwell bequest for a writing school	20	0	0
1708	Benjamin Browne (son of William, Sr.) for indigent boys at the grammar school	60	0	0
1716	William Browne, Jr. (son of William, Sr.) to lessen tuition at the grammar school	100	0	0
1719	Captain John Browne (son of William, Jr.) for the Grammar School	25	0	0
	William Pauldon for the grammar school	5	0	0
1729	Samuel Browne (son of William, Jr.)	240	0	0
	Benjamin Lynde, Jr.	20	0	0
1731	Samuel Browne (son of William, Jr.)	150	0	0
		745	5	3[1]

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[1] Felt, 2d, I, 434–46.

The gift of Colonel Samuel Browne of two hundred and forty pounds was probably the largest gift for elementary education which had been made up to that time, though he and his family had given Harvard College more than eight hundred pounds.[1] No wonder the town meeting of March 13, 1729, was delighted. The good colonel is so clear and explicit in what he wants to do and the town so businesslike in its handling of the matter that the record is worth quoting in full:

> The Town Entring upon Consideration of the Affair for Encouraging of Schools in this Town as mentioned in the Warrant, The Hon^{ble} Coll^{o} *Browne* is pleased to take this — Opportunitie, not only as Moderator, Recommending to the whole Town how much it is for their Honour & Interest to be always ready & cheerfull to the Supporting of Schools for the Education of Children, & also acquainting them what it is that the good Laws of the Province mean & Expect frō them, but also to Express his own thought & Concern for the same, and for a more sensible Manifestation thereof is Pleased now to Offer to the Towns Acceptance A free Gift & Grant of three Several Sum̄s of Money towards the Support of three Schools for the Education of Children in the Body of this Town, Amounting to the Sum of Two Hundred & Fourty pounds, As followeth,
>
> First, He Giues & Grants to the Grammar School in Salem to be kept in or near the Town House Street in Salem now so called being in the Body of the Town *One Hundred & Twenty pounds*
>
> Secondly, He giues & Grants unto the Reading, Writing, & Cyphering School in Salem, to be kept in or near the Town House Street in Salem, now so called being in the Body of the Town *Sixty pounds*
>
> Thirdly, He giues & Grants unto A Womans School in Salem, to be kept by A Sutable Honest & Sober Woman in or near the Town House Street in Salem now so called being in the Body of the Town *Sixty pounds*, And these Sum̄s to

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[1] *Harvard Corporation Records*, 1723; *College Book*, IV, 93.

be particularly Improved for their respective Ends & Uses, According to the Directions — giuen in the Several Grants from under his Hand, as hereafter *Recorded*, may at large Appear —

Whereupon the Selectmen for themselues, as well as on behalfe of the Town did Immediatly Signifie their Gratefull Acceptance, and hearty thanks for so Generous & Honb$^{\underline{ble}}$ A Gift —

The Hon^{ble} *Judge Lynde's* Also Expressing in A more particular manner his thankfullness to the *Moderator*, for his so Bountifull & Generous A Donation, Asketh liberty to call for A Vote of thanks from the Whole Assembly, which Accordingly was done, by A very Cheerfull lifting up of *Hands*, None Excepted

M^{r} Benjamin Lynde Jun^{r} Whom the Town was pleased the last year to make Choice of for their, *Treasurer*, & voted him Twelue pounds for his Service, Takes this Opportunitie to return the said Twelue pounds to them Again with an Addition of Eight pounds, more which makes up the Sum of Twenty pounds, if the Town please to Accept of the same towards A Grammar School in the Body of the Town on the Terms giuen, As by an Instrument, from under his Hand hereafter Recorded may Appear —

To whom also the Selectmen & whole Assembly did Immediatly *Signifie* their ready Acceptance & Hearty Thanks therefor — Voted. The Hon^{ble} Coll^{o} Browne & Benj^{a} Lynde Esq^{rs} Doct. Tho^{s} Robie, M^{r} Benj^{a} Lynde Jun^{r} & Thomas Barton, Chosen and appointed A Committee, they or the Major part of them, to take care of and manage the Affairs of the Grammar School, & also the Affairs of the Reading, Writing & Cyphering School in the body of the Town of Salem, from time to time, and on A vacancy of A Schoolmaster to either School, To provide another Schoolmaster Sutable for said Service, and to Agree with him or them on the best Terms they can for their Support or Salary — which is to be paid out of the Rents Appropriated by the Town to the Schools, and also by the Interest of Such Legacies & Donation as have been made to said Schools, as also out of Such Sum or Sum̄s of Money as are Ordered & voted to be paid to sd Schools or Town Treasurer out of the Town

> Stock of Moneys already Granted or to be raised hereafter for that End & Purpose — And all Rents & Appropriations of Lands formerly set Apart & Granted to said Schools, Are hereby further Ratified and Confirmed to the said Schools, And the Town Treasurer for the Time being is to take care to gett in & Collect said Rents & Revenues according to the Moneys they were Leased for With ye Advice & Direction of the Committee —
>
> This Committee's power to Continue 'till the Town shall Order & appoint another Committee in their room & Stead for the Ends aforesaid.[1]

It will be noticed that the Lynde family took an honorable share in these generous activities. They had not then the wealth of the Brownes, but they did their part. The people up at the Village always had a grievance because they were taxed for the school and it was a long distance for their children to go. This was one of their chief reasons for wishing to be set off as a town. Perhaps this complaint is the reason for the care with which Colonel Browne in each gift carefully specifies 'in or near Town House Street.' To meet this complaint, the committee four years later recommended that the whole town be taxed and four schools be maintained, two 'within the bridge' — that is, on the peninsula — one at the Middle Precinct (Peabody), and one at the Village. Still the villagers were not satisfied, and made so many qualifications that the town just put it through over their objections.[2] In this vote the 'Woman's School kept by A Sutable Honest & Sober Woman' seems to have passed out of sight, but a new school at 'Royalside parish' is mentioned.

The health of the town became a serious matter from time to time. Smallpox had not yet been practically eliminated from the dangerous epidemics by the simple

[1] *Town Records*, March 13, 1728/9.

[2] *Ibid.*, March 18, 1733.

operation of vaccination and was still a disfiguring and fatal disease. Early in 1721, fear of contagion was shown by an order of the selectmen that a watch be kept at Winter Island to prevent the spread of the disease from incoming West Indies vessels.[1] It reached Boston, however, by that means and by midsummer was becoming an epidemic. Steps were taken to prevent the spread to Salem, and a pest-house was designated for those who took the disease.[2] Doctor Boyleston started inoculation, but his efforts were furiously resisted and a fast was held in Salem to ward off the disease. In Boston it spread rapidly, and many of even the prominent people died. Judge Samuel Sewall lost several friends and neighbors during September and October; even his daughter, Jane Hirst, was brought home sick with it, his black servant, Boston, cheerfully carrying her in his arms.[3] Let us hope that Boston may have had it and been immune. The congregations at meeting thinned out, and the General Court was so alarmed that it wished to adjourn to Cambridge,[4] but immediately became so embroiled in one of the petty disputes with Governor Shute over whether they could adjourn themselves or go only by the governor's order that they did not escape then or in November. Nearly six thousand persons had the disease, of whom 844 died.[5] The epidemic was evidently not severe in Salem, for that cheerful young gentleman, Benjamin Lynde, Jr., mentions it but once, October 17: 'Boy had small pox.' [6]

Ten years later, Governor Belcher reached Boston just in the middle of a most virulent attack of the disease. Wise Governor Dummer had already adjourned the

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[1] *Town Records*, April 22, 1721.

[2] *Ibid.*, July 3, 1721.

[3] Sewall: *Diary*, III, 292.

[4] *Journals of the House of Representatives*, III, 87, 88, 91, 92.

[5] 1 M.H.S.C., IV, 213; V, 207.

[6] *Lynde Diaries*, 132.

General Court, which later met in Cambridge and Roxbury. The epidemic soon spread to Marblehead and became serious there, although the Marbleheaders had built a fence across their peninsula and posted a guard.[1] Salem now took similar precautions against Marblehead and discontinued the ferry in December.[2] Over four hundred people died in Boston and the mortality was heavy in Marblehead, but Salem again escaped more easily.

The kind of dwelling-house in Salem had gradually changed since the early type of steep roofs, overhanging second stories, latticed windows, and clustered chimneys, and a new style of gambrel roofs had crept in, which made the attic, often the children's dormitory, much more livable. There are houses still standing in Salem which illustrate the whole period of these buildings in their best forms. The earliest form is illustrated by the house on Union Street, best known as the birthplace of Nathaniel Hawthorne. It was built by Captain Pickman before 1685 and he lived in it all his life.[3] Another house of the early type of the same style is the house on the corner of Herbert and Derby Streets, probably built by Richard Derby in 1738; in it Elias Haskett Derby and all his other children were born. Later it was owned by Miles Ward and his name became attached to it. These were fine old solid mansions, but many houses of the same characteristics, though often with less attractive lines, are to be seen in many streets of the city. The large square wooden houses belong to a later period.

They had a pretty good time in these houses, and young James Jeffrey gives us a glimpse of some of the festivities of the summer of 1727. In April, Colonel Pepperrell was in town from Kittery and they went down to

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[1] Rhodes: *Marblehead*, 55.

[2] *Town Records*, Dec. 23, 1730.

[3] Dow: *Diary of Benjamin Pickman*, 6.

Winter Island together. But the first real celebration was a trip to Ipswich to proclaim King George the Second. The same old crowd were still together, J. Wolcott, Edward Kitchin, B. Lynde, M. Sewall, and the three Brownes, Samuel, William, and their cousin Benjamin. What proclaiming the king meant Jeffrey does not say, but, as they supped at Stanford's and came home at two o'clock in the morning, it is fortunate, perhaps, that they were driving horses who usually knew their way home instead of automobiles which do not.

A few days later he was down at Winter Island with a different group, evidently some of his fishing and seafaring friends. These were business associates rather than jovial friends and included Captain Corwin, George Campbell, Daniel Goff, James King, Amos Wood, and Captain Hicks.[1]

But the real event of the season was Colonel Browne's dinner on September 10 at Pratt's Tavern. Colonel Browne was the richest man in town and its leader in many ways, and his party no doubt consisted of the most prominent men except those away at sea. All those who proclaimed the king at Ipswich were there, and also Benjamin Gerrish, Samuel Barton, Ichabod Plaisted, Ebenezer Bowditch, Captain Beadle, Captain Dove, Edward Thompson, John Cabot, John Clark, John Gerrish, Jr., John Turner, Edward Flint, and William and Samuel Pickman. Jeffrey does not say when they got home that night, but it is safe to say that Colonel Browne did things up in good style. It is noticeable that the clergymen did not attend any of these festivities. They and the judges, doctors, school-teachers, and more literary men seem to have belonged to a slightly different group which specialized on funerals, church meetings, and ordinations, though of course the groups overlapped.

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[1] James Jeffrey: *Journal*, E.I.H.C., II, 64.

This ended the summer for James Jeffrey, save for a party at Mr. Pickman's, where young Ben Pickman and Benning Wentworth, later to be governor of New Hampshire, were present. These two young men were to be intimately associated in planning the Louisburg campaign eighteen years later.

The last event of the year was not so pleasant. On October 29, 'the most terrible Earthquake ever known in New England — the first shock two minutes — several smaller — continued at times all the week.' The first shock was at ten-forty on a Sunday evening and the people sat up all night. Young Jeffrey apparently vibrated between Ichabod Plaisted's and Benjamin Lynde's, and many others of the town were there also. This was supposed to have been the worst shock since 1638 and consisted of a terrible noise and shaking. It was felt as far south as Philadelphia.[1]

During this period of twenty years the seats in the governor's council occupied by Salem men were held by Benjamin Lynde, Sr., John Turner, Samuel Browne, Timothy Lindall, Benjamin Lynde, Jr., and William Browne. In addition to the above, Peter Osgood, John Gardner, Daniel Epes, Jonathan Wolcott, William Bowditch, Ichabod Plaisted, Benjamin Marston, Benjamin Browne, and Thomas Lee were sent to the General Court. Most of the councillors had held seats in the General Court before they were chosen councillors, and Timothy Lindall had been the Speaker of the House.

In military, church, and legal affairs the Plaisteds, the Sewalls, the Lyndes, the Pickerings, and the Osgoods held leading places.

This list includes the most prominent families of the time. Since the passing of Roger Derby, the emigrant, no

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[1] Felt, 2d, II, 141.

Derby was especially prominent, as his son Richard died young and the first merchant, Richard, had not yet come to the front. The Corwin and Endecott families were temporarily submerged, and the Pickmans, the Ornes, the Crowninshields, the Gardners, and the Cabots had not yet won their spurs in this generation. Almost all of these families had aggressive men who were shipmasters and fishermen and were to take a leading part a few years later. The Englishes, the Higginsons, the Willards, the Graftons, the Verens, the Parkmans, the Hollingsworths, and the Hathornes either moved away, died out, or did not supply men of the first importance in the conduct of the town during these early years of the century. A very sturdy group remained, however, and supplied in the next three generations men who can well be compared with the early citizens and who brought the town to a point it had never before reached. It is hard to realize that probably half the able-bodied men of Salem were at sea during the next hundred years.

CHAPTER XI

COMMERCE AFTER THE MOLASSES ACT

THE year 1733 is a natural turning-point in the history of Salem commerce. It marked the end of the life of Philip English, the first great merchant, and the close of that free and open commerce which had built up the port. True, there had been laws before regulating trade, but their enforcement had been only slowly developed. Now the planters of the West Indies and the merchants in England combined to limit the freedom of activity of the New England traders for what they thought was their advantage. The Molasses Act tended to raise the price of sugar and molasses in the English islands by preventing trade with the French islands. It was also hoped that French foreign goods would no longer filter into the American colonies and hence that the market for English goods would be better. It did, indeed, enrich the West Indian planters at the expense of New England traders, but the shortage of funds in Massachusetts reacted adversely on the imports from England and forced the colonists into manufacturing. Crude as the products were, they slowly supplanted English goods which the people could not afford to buy.

Salem had to fish and to trade. It was her very life. She had no farming, and most of her manufacturing was boatbuilding. The Molasses Act bore heavily upon her and, little more than a year later, she stated her grievance to the General Court in no uncertain language. On November 10, 1735, she protested the province tax and voted that Daniel Epes and Benjamin Browne (her representatives) 'be directed to make a just representation of the great decay of the fishery and the grievous burden on the W. India trade by reason of the late act of Parliament imposing a heavy duty on the goods imported from the islands called foreign.' [1]

Moreover, war with France was expected, and the Salem merchants anticipated with no pleasure the destruction of their little vessels by French privateers. The defense of the harbor was another source of worry, and the General Court ordered that if Fort Ann, which was still the name that the fort on the Neck bore, should be repaired so as to mount fifteen cannon, £600 should be granted toward the work.

Meanwhile, trade continued actively with Spain, Portugal, the Straits of Gibraltar, and even as far as Leghorn. There was also trade with the English islands of the West Indies, as well as the Canary Islands and the Azores. In this trade of the later thirties, one of the great figures of Salem commerce of the eighteenth century first made his appearance. In 1736, Richard Derby was master of the sloop *Ranger* on a voyage to Cadiz. Three years later, he was sailing the schooner *Ranger*, owned by Benjamin Gerrish, Jr., on a voyage of somewhat doubtful legality to the West Indies with boards, staves, and horses. Richard Derby was a shipmaster at twenty-four, and during his long life always played a conspicuous part in the commercial life of the town.

At about the same time Captain Caleb Pickman was sailing the brigantine *Abigail* for his brothers, Benjamin and Samuel Pickman, down to Jamaica. He carried down some 25,000 feet of boards, 30,000 shingles, 5700 barrel staves, and 23 hogsheads of fish worth £271–11–9¼, and brought back 2 casks and a bag of indigo, a cask of pimento and of cocoa, a bag of cotton and 3 tons of logwood, not to mention £28 in cash.[1]

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[1] *Town Records*, Nov. 10, 1735.

The next year (1736), Captain Habakkuk Gardner was taking a similar cargo to Montserrat in the Leeward Islands, but bringing back sugar, rum, and molasses as well as pimento and indigo. As Captain Gardner immediately endorsed over to Colonel Benjamin Browne the note he received for part of the cargo, it is likely this was a Browne venture.[2]

In 1739, England went to war with Spain. This did not affect New England much. A few companies were enlisted and a few hundred men were sent with Admiral Vernon on the ill-fated Cartagena expedition, few of whom ever came back, but Massachusetts suffered not at all from any enemy attack. It was quite different with the French War, which began in 1744, but the great event of that war, namely, the capture of Louisburg, was so intimately connected with Essex County as to justify a separate chapter. The French War also caused the Salem merchants considerable loss.

Benjamin Pickman and his brother evidently conducted quite a trade with Lisbon, and goods which were picked up in the West Indies were shipped thither with fish from the New England fisheries. A letter from their correspondents in Portugal in July, 1742, says:

> we have not had the Pleasure To write you since 24 May last year having till now never had an Opportunity of Selling the Loggwood. Att last 'tis sold & herein include the amount Sale. . . . Here are at present severall Vessels with Fish but it is all old and Sold at all Sorts of Prices. The first new Fish that arrives will without all doubts obtain an Exceeding good Markett.

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[1] *Essex County Notarial Records*, E.I.H.C., XLV, 215–19.

[2] *Ibid.*, 220, 333, 334.

Captain Joseph Grafton had just arrived with one of the Pickman vessels, and they remitted a considerable part of the proceeds of 1660 quintals of fish to the London firm of Lane, Smethurst and Caswell, which indicated that Pickman had extensive business relations in England.

Perhaps as vivid a picture as can be found of commercial life in Salem before the middle of the century is in the ledger of Timothy Orne, Jr., which extends over the period from 1738 to 1753. Orne belonged to the family of Deacon John Horne, one of the earliest settlers. In the second generation, they dropped their *h*'s, spread over Salem and Marblehead, and became very active in trade. Azor Orne of Marblehead belonged to the same family. Timothy Orne, Jr., was the son of another Timothy, always alluded to as Captain Timothy Orne, merchant, instead of mariner, showing that by 1738 he had retired from the sea.

The younger Orne carried on his ledger the names of ninety-three Salem people and also a great many more from all over Essex County and in Boston, as well as at least one firm in Cadiz, Bilboa, Fayal, London, Jamaica, and Barbados. His operations were continuous and at times very extensive, but it was steadily a trading business with comparatively little money changing hands. Even Philip Sanders, his baker, is charged with flour and sugar and rum and money lent and credited with bread for his house and for ships. Evidently Sanders was also a fisherman or fish dealer, for he is credited with fish also, and finally, after three or four years, they square up by Sanders paying £99.[1]

Joseph Gardner, the goldsmith, gets salt and sugar and corn and cloth, and even a little silver now and then, and is credited with silver buckles for Orne's daughter, gold

[1] Ledger, folio 5.

buttons, teaspoons, etc., till at the end of ten years' trading, Orne owes him £58 1*d.*[1]

Samuel Field, boatbuilder, buys all sorts of West India supplies and English goods and pays in fish and three ship's boats sixteen or seventeen feet long, and valued at sixty to eighty pounds apiece. Only a few pounds cash changed hands in transactions running to over £600.[2]

Even the barber, Samuel Archer, did not get any cash. He seems to have shaved by contract at two pounds ten shillings per year, but wigs (and splicing more hair into old wigs) were extra. The barber had to have rum and molasses, salt and sugar, and even borrowed a few shillings from time to time, so year in and year out he always owed Orne money.

Benjamin Lynde, Jr., used Orne apparently as his banker sometimes, and sometimes it worked the other way. They lent each other money and sold drafts back and forth.[3]

Thirty-five vessels are mentioned in this ledger as owned or partly owned by Orne, and their cargoes and the profit or loss on the voyages are accurately set forth. It is sometimes astonishing what results were obtained. The little schooner *Ann and Abigail*[4] sailed in October, 1744, for the West Indies with a trifling cargo of fish, beef, and oil worth about £75, and came back with a cargo of 620 gallons of molasses which cost about £140 and sold for £271, which with other receipts shows a profit of £134–7–11, falling only a few pounds short of one hundred per cent net profit in six months. The molasses was partly paid for with drafts on merchants in Barbados. The voyage of the schooner *America* under Jonathan Crowninshield was a much larger affair and Orne had only one-eighth interest, but, after the bills were paid, he pocketed a net profit of £791 out of the total.[1]

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[1] Ledger, folio 50.

[2] *Ibid.*, folio 14.

[3] *Ibid.*, folio 29.

[4] *Ibid.*, folio 56.

On one page of the ledger there is a summary of the profit and loss of three schooners from 1745 to 1751. On the *Exeter* he made in three voyages £1652. The *Gloucester* was lost on her first voyage and he lost £623 above his insurance, but the *Volant* made £1636 in five voyages. The first was over one hundred per cent and the last about twenty per cent of the outlay.[2]

In this single beautifully written parchment-bound ledger are all the transactions of twenty years of a busy merchant's life. When the accounts were settled, the customers were asked to sign the settlement, and at times you can see the fairness of the man showing through the hard facts. Adjustments are made because the goods were not up to standard, and at least once you find an entry on the credit side of a woman's account: 'because she is a poor widow, 19*s*.'

There is no evidence that Orne ever took off a trial balance or tried to find where he stood, but he kept a series of private memorandum books and, as time went on, he entered his profits and losses in summary form there. In 1758, he lost three vessels outright, costing him £365, but he had twelve successful voyages on which he made over £1300, so the year was not a failure.[3] Many losses were due to the extraordinary risks of war and capture by privateers, but many more were due to the risks of the sea in small vessels frequently caught on a lee shore or dismasted by the hurricanes which sweep the West Indies at certain seasons.

Timothy Orne, who ceased to be Junior on the death of his father Timothy in 1753, died in 1767. He was often a selectman of the town, and on his death his estate was valued at over £22,000. His little memorandum books show he was in the habit of withdrawing sums of money from his active business and had lent considerable quantities in small sums to a great many individuals in the county and in larger amounts to several towns.

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[1] Ledger, folio 65. [2] *Ibid.*, folio 78.

[3] Timothy Orne: *Memmo Book*, 1758, p. 35; Essex Inst. MSS.

Richard Derby, at first one of Orne's captains, soon became a partner in more of his ventures than perhaps anyone else, but Captain Joseph Grafton, Samuel Gardner, John Gardner, Benjamin Osgood, David Britton, Francis Cabot, and others shared in the various ventures. Seldom did any one man take more than a quarter of the risk on any ship or cargo. Most of the merchants began as captains. Many of the captains became part owners and still remained in command, but the most skillful retired and conducted their adventures from land.

It is hard to see why a contemporary writer[1] should complain because the West India trade was less profitable than formerly, for it seems to have been lucrative enough, but it is easy to see why the style of English trade changed. Formerly the English merchants sent their goods to be sold on commission, but now the colonial merchants had capital to invest and they bought English goods outright. The same writer[2] remarks that if every English family should make one dinner a week on New England codfish, it would greatly stimulate the use of British manufactures. The fisheries had prospered; the whale fishery especially grew up as the demand for whale oil for lamps increased. This branch was always peculiar to Nantucket and Cape Cod and never took strong hold in Salem or Marblehead.

All told, this was a very prosperous period for Salem, and Orne's ledger shows just how the wealth brought in by the merchants filtered down and benefited the whole people to the plainest fisherman, boatbuilder, and farmer.

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[1] Hutchinson, II, 397.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, 400.

CHAPTER XII

THE CRUSADE AGAINST LOUISBURG

UNLIKE Governor Belcher, who was a New England man, Governor Shirley, who succeeded him, was an Englishman who had been sent over to fill the office of advocate-general.[1] His relations with the governor became strained, and in 1739, by the help of many important men of the province with whom Belcher had become unpopular, he succeeded him as governor. Shirley's administration began in a troublesome time, but fortunately, after a brief protest, he accepted a grant from the General Court and with the salary question out of the way got along with his legislative body pretty well. The real trouble was, the province was poor, the paper currency very much depreciated, which seriously affected the merchants, and the relations with the French were decidedly strained.

The most important single industry for the colony was the fishery. All the way from Boston to the Kennebec River little fishing villages lay at frequent intervals along the coast which depended for their sustenance on fish, and many of the fishermen went as far afield as the Banks of Newfoundland. These fish were the basis of the export trade, as has been shown, and were vitally important to the merchants and shipbuilders. In fact the industry supported most of the people in the seaport towns. There were perhaps 160,000 people in Massachusetts scattered through sixty-eight towns[2] of which Boston was the largest with 18,000 people and Salem was next with less than a third as many.

There was great rivalry between the French fishermen of Cape Breton and the English. In 1742, Governor Shirley estimated that the French fisheries were worth a million pounds sterling annually,[1] and that they caught 1,149,000 quintals of merchantable fish with 564 vessels employing 27,500 men. In spite of the estimate that five or six well-fed Marblehead fishermen could catch as many fish as ten or twelve 'meager Frenchmen,' [2] the latter got a lot of fish and they were a thorn in the side of New England. Many of these Frenchmen came over directly from France, and ever since the Peace of Utrecht, France had been busy improving the harbor of Louisburg on Cape Breton Island. It was the center of the fishery and a convenient stopping-point on the voyage from France to Quebec.[3] The town had been fortified with all the skill of the best French engineers. The walls were built of stone thirty feet high and surrounded by a ditch eighty feet wide. There were three batteries of about one hundred and fifty guns in the town itself, a heavy battery of thirty guns on an island at the harbor entrance, and another or Grand Battery directly opposite the harbor mouth of thirty forty-two-pounders. It was as strong a fortress as the military genius of the time could construct and had cost over a million pounds sterling.

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[1] Palfrey, v, 46.

[2] *Abstract of Mass. Census of 1865*, p. 173.

The war that had been brewing broke out in the spring of 1744, and before the news reached Boston the governor of Louisburg swooped down upon the little New England garrison at Canso, and captured and burnt the blockhouse. An attack aimed at Placentia Bay, in Newfoundland, was defeated by contrary winds, but seven hundred Indians and a few French under a French priest almost took Annapolis. They would have done so if Massachusetts had not rushed off an armed snow with transports for eighty men, who arrived just in the nick of time.[1] The fishing fleet was captured, destroyed, or chased off the fishing grounds, and France seemed to have the situation entirely in hand save for the one fortification in the Bay of Fundy.

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[1] Shirley: *Memoir of the Last War*, 14.

[2] Hutchinson, II, 400.

[3] Shirley: *Memoir of the Last War*, 15.

Nothing could have aroused the seacoast towns more than this. Salem Bay was the heart of the fishing industry. Salem, Beverly, Marblehead, and Cape Ann had more men in the industry than any other section and, moreover, the settlements all the way down the coast were founded largely by Essex County men, except for the first few scattering colonists which had come directly from England. There was hardly a family from Kittery to the Kennebec that did not have a cousin in some town between Marblehead and Newbury.

The government had seen the trouble coming and, as early as 1742, had offered Salem £300 if she would build and equip a fort to mount sixteen eight-pounders. The town accepted the offer and went to work, probably on Winter Island.[2] In November, Benjamin Gerrish, Jr., and others petitioned for a town meeting to form a committee to get still more help from the province. The war question got still more serious the next year, and the two representatives, Daniel Epes and Captain John Gardner,[3] were both appointed to important committees looking to the defense of the province. The House voted £166 more for the Salem fortification.[4]

In 1744, the influence of Salem in the General Court was strengthened by the election of Benjamin Pickman. A very rich and able merchant throughout the middle years of the century, he was also the builder of the famous house next to the East India Marine Hall which had the fish stairway with a gilt fish on every step in glorification of the fishing industry. He built later the beautiful house on Washington Street, corner of Lynde Street, which stood till a few years ago. He was a descendant of the Lindalls as well as of the Pickmans, and married Love Rawlins of Boston. He was a captain and later the colonel of the First Essex Regiment, and when he died, his real estate alone was worth nearly £12,000 not to mention his commercial interests. He was forceful and aggressive as well as kindly and benevolent, and carried great weight in the community.[1]

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[1] Shirley: *Memoir of the Last War*, 23.

[2] *Journal of the House of Representatives*, April 10, 1742.

[3] *Gardner Memorial*, 81.

[4] Felt, 1st, 423, 426.

News of the French War arrived about the first of June and almost simultaneously the news of the disasters to the eastward. Mr. Pickman was of the committee to draft a bill to prohibit trading with the enemy and took an active part in the war preparations. Considerable information came back to Massachusetts about Louisburg from the officers and soldiers captured at Canso,[2] and early the next year Governor Shirley laid before the General Court a proposal for the capture of the fortress of Louisburg. He also wrote to the British Admiralty and to Commodore Warren, who commanded the British fleet in the West Indies, for naval assistance. The idea was said to have been suggested by Robert Auchmuty, judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court,[3] but the forceful proposal probably came from William Vaughan, son of the lieutenant-governor of New Hampshire, who had been a trader in Louisburg and knew the situation.[4]

The General Court considered the matter closely, but decided the scheme was too ambitious. In spite of a pledge of secrecy, the news got abroad, and a petition, signed by many Boston merchants, but principally by those of Salem and Marblehead, urged reconsideration for the reasons set forth, which were principally the saving of the fishery from ruin.[1] William Vaughan came to Marblehead[2] to urge the cause and Benjamin Pickman influenced the Salem people to sign. The governor returned to the attack, and a few days later the General Court voted by a majority of one to raise three thousand men and provide the necessary transports and naval forces for the expedition.

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[1] Dow: *Pickman Diary*, 13–18.

[2] Shirley: *Memoir of the Last War*, 31.

[3] 1 M.H.S.C., v, 202.

[4] Hutchinson, II, 364, note; Palfrey, v, 64, note.

In many ways it was one of the most preposterous adventures ever undertaken, and if ever there was a demonstration of the old proverb that where there is a will there's a way, this was it. A fortress built by competent military engineers, thoroughly equipped with artillery and garrisoned by some six hundred regular troops and twelve hundred Canadians, was to be attacked by three thousand provincials not yet enlisted, with practically no artillery, no naval force that could oppose even one French ship-of-the-line, and all at the end of a line of communications five hundred miles long across the tempestuous North Atlantic in the late winter. The expedition was to be supported by a small bankrupt colony that did not produce enough provisions even to feed itself in ordinary times.

On the other hand, Governor Shirley, if not always generous and often jealous and conceited, was sensible, forceful, and farsighted. William Pepperrell of Kittery, appointed commander, had no military training which fitted him for such a task, but he had energy, honesty, shrewd common sense, and the ability to get along with people. The council of war was made up of determined men like Pickman, who intended to see the thing through at all costs. The colony as a whole was back of it and the coastwise towns were fired with enthusiasm.

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[1] Hutchinson, II, 368; Shirley: *Memoir of the Last War*, 35.

[2] See Palfrey, v, 64.

The vote was passed on January 25, and on March 24, less than sixty days later, the armament sailed from Nantasket Roads. From start to finish fortune smiled on every detail. The garrison of Louisburg never had even a rumor of the expedition till the transports began landing troops. A few days after Commodore Warren had declined to assist, he received orders from England to come, and he came. Mild weather and an early spring contributed their share to the success. Each of the New England colonies without delay agreed to contribute forces promptly and did, with the exception of Rhode Island. Every circumstance was a little better than could be reasonably hoped for,[1] but, like all so-called luck, it was the result of an honest, fearless group of really able men working diligently to attain a result.

Governor Shirley applied himself vigorously to the enterprise. As well as forgetting the fifty years' controversy about salary, he prudently relegated to the background the royal instruction forbidding the issue of further bills of credit, and the General Court proceeded to raise such money as was necessary.[2] All petty disputes were put aside in the interest of the great adventure.

Colonel William Pepperrell was the leading man in the district of Maine. As well as being a large landed proprietor, he was busily engaged in the fishery and in foreign trade. His wife was a daughter of William Hirst of Salem and a granddaughter of Judge Samuel Sewall. At great loss to himself he accepted the command, but his affable manner and great popularity were an enormous help in hastening the enlistment of volunteers.

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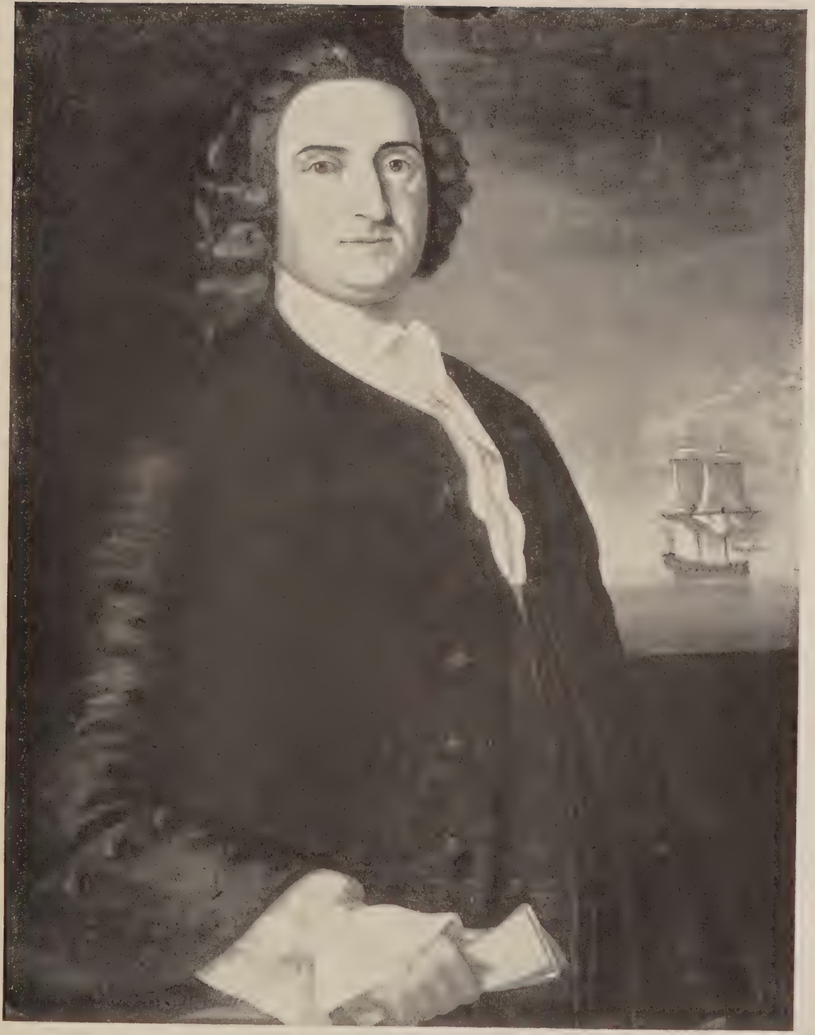
[1] Reverend Thomas Prince: *Extraordinary Events.*

[2] Hutchinson, II, 370.



COLONEL BENJAMIN PICKMAN, 1706–1773
Member of the Council of War in 1745

The council of war must have been a very active body and was, with Colonel Pepperrell, the real driving force of the campaign. Benjamin Pickman of Salem was a leading member of the council of war.

Their first duty was to enlist men, and the force of 3250 enlisted men which sailed on March 23 consisted of seven regiments and a train of artillery, so apparently each regiment comprised four or five hundred men. The regiments designated first and second were those of Colonel Pepperrell and Brigadier-General Samuel Waldo. Pepperrell's men came from the Maine towns from Kittery to Biddeford and Waldo's from Scarboro to the Kennebec.[1] The third regiment comprised apparently the men of Salem and vicinity, though it is once mentioned as the 'York' regiment.[2] The fourth and fifth companies were commanded by James Grant and Charles King of Salem.[3] Their commissions and in fact all the commissions in Captain Grant's company antedate all commissions in the expedition except those of the commander-in-chief and of Captain Samuel Rhodes of Marblehead, who got in two days ahead of the chief, while they got in two days after. Two other captains presumably from Salem, Captain White and Captain Covell, are also mentioned in James Jeffrey's *Journal*[4] as embarking for Louisburg, but their names do not appear in the official roster of the regiment. One William Covell is mentioned as having served in Colonel Gorham's regiment.[5] The fourth regiment seems to have been a Middlesex contingent, but the fifth, under Colonel Robert Hale of Beverly, was largely a northern Essex County group, while the sixth and seventh came from Boston and the southward.[1] The train of artillery went in the first contingent, but the eighth and ninth regiments were not raised till June, and no doubt served as replacements and to garrison the town after the capture. Samuel Curwen of Salem, afterward judge, was a captain in the eighth regiment which Colonel Choate commanded, but his brother George Curwen went as commissary in the first expedition. That position holds little glory, but is more essential to an army than more conspicuous posts.

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[1] Parsons: *Life of Sir William Pepperrell*, 54, note.

[2] *Ibid.*, 348.

[3] Felt, *Annals*, 2d, II, 511, says his name was Samuel Grant, but the register of commissions in the *Pepperrell Papers*, p. 502, says James Grant.

[4] E.I.H.C., II, 66.

[5] Drake: *French and Indian War*, 231.

It is disappointing to realize that the muster rolls of the brave men who fought at Louisburg have largely disappeared.[2]

Connecticut agreed to furnish five hundred men if her commander could be given the second commission, so Roger Wolcott became second in command and Connecticut sent forward her forces, but they did not reach Canso till three weeks after the Massachusetts troops. New Hampshire's three hundred men got there four days ahead. Rhode Island alone 'waited until a better judgement could be made of the event,' as Hutchinson says,[3] and arrived safely after Louisburg had surrendered. New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania had been invited to contribute, but they supplied neither men nor money, except New York, which lent ten eighteen-pounder cannon. New Jersey and Pennsylvania made a small contribution of clothing and provisions.

The artillery was taken from Castle William in Boston

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[1] *Pepperrell Papers*, Appendix, 6 M.H.S.C., x, 497–508.

[2] I have found only one or two companies of Newbury men in the Essex regiments. See *Coffin Papers*, E.I.H.C., xxxv, 150, 217–21, 224–27. There is a list of the men in Captain Grant's and Captain King's companies still present for duty in November, 1745, in the *Pepperrell Papers*, 6 M.H.S.C., x, 545, 546, but it is fair to say that the towns around Salem Bay supplied at least a tenth of the forces and Essex County a quarter.

[3] Hutchinson, II, 371.

Harbor as far as it could be spared and consisted of eight twenty-two-pounders, twelve nine-pounders, and four mortars of twelve inches or less, which, with the ten eighteen-pounders borrowed from New York, was all they had with which to assault a massive stone fortress, but they were so sure they were going to take the Grand Battery that they carried along balls to fit those forty-two-pounders! This was certainly a remarkable instance of planning a rabbit pie before the rabbit was caught, but strange to relate, those balls were used![1]

The naval force which the colony could supply was very limited and consisted of three frigates of twenty guns each, a snow, *The Prince of Orange*, officered and manned by Marblehead men,[2] of sixteen guns, a brigantine of twelve, and eight armed sloops mounting not over twelve carriage guns each, three of which were supplied by New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island.[3] With the small size of vessels available for transports, it must have required quite a fleet to convey nearly four thousand men and the supplies, and just there is where the best service of the seacoast towns was no doubt rendered. Probably at least fifty vessels of all sorts were required, and it would be gratifying to know who commanded and manned them. Sir William Pepperrell's *Journal* says twenty vessels came in with him and they found many sail already at Canso, including twelve from New Hampshire and an unmentioned number from Massachusetts. Several more came in on two later days.[4] A substantial number no doubt came from Salem, but who owned them we do not know. John Gardner of Salem was the pilot of one of the Massachusetts frigates,[5] and there must have been many other Salem seamen.

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[1] Shirley: *Memoir of the Last War*, 37. [2] Hutchinson, II, 379. [3] *Ibid.*, 37.

[4] *Journal of Sir William Pepperrell, Am. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, XX, 143.

[5] *Journal of the House of Representatives*, March 9, 1745.

Governor Shirley had written to England asking help for the expedition and also to Commodore Warren at Antigua in the West Indies. The British government decided to support the expedition by sending five ships from England, which arrived during the latter part of the siege, but Commodore Warren, after consultation with his officers, decided that his duty was to remain on his station. This dispatch arrived the day before the fleet was to sail and was so discouraging that Governor Shirley communicated it only to General Pepperrell and his second in command. It seemed as if immediate help was unlikely, but after sending his dispatch, Warren had been ordered from England to proceed to Boston and was actually on his way.[1] Forty-five leagues off Cape Ann, he fell in with a Marblehead fisherman who told him the fleet had sailed,[2] so he proceeded to Canso, to the great relief of Pepperrell. This enormously strengthened the naval forces and guaranteed the effective blockade of Louisburg.

The expedition was followed with the fervent prayers of Massachusetts. Fast days were appointed and days of prayer set aside for its success. The evangelist George Whitefield gave as a motto, '*Nil desperandum, Christo duce.*' Deacon John Gray of Biddeford wrote to Pepperrell, 'O that I could be with you and dear parson Moody in that church to destroy the images there set up and hear the true Gospel of our Lord and Saviour there preached.' Parson Moody was from York and was the grandfather of the famous first master of Governor Dummer Academy. It is said that he took a hatchet with him to destroy the images in the church, so strongly convinced was he that they savored of idolatry. The chaplains preached and prayed with the troops, and the strong faith of the soldiers is evident in their diaries. On April 28, we find Benjamin Crafts, a soldier in Colonel Hale's regiment, writing:

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[1] Shirley: *Memoir of the Last War*, 39–42.

[2] Skinner to Shirley, 1 M.H.S.C., 1, 18.

> in ye forenoon went to hear Mr Crocker preach.... in ye afternoon went to hear Mr Newman preach from ye 1 of Kings 20 Chap 11 verse. ye Lord enable us to make a wise improvement of such opportunitys & prepare us for his holy Will.[1]
>
> May ye 8th.... I heare of our Company called again — to Guard at ye Green Hill ye Lord be pleased to be a guard unto us on every side & enable us to put our whole Trust & Confidence in him.[2]

This was not cant, but an expression of the deep and sincere faith of New England in the guarding providence of God, and almost every day of his diary closes the same way. The same evidence of faith is found widely in the letters of all ranks. These men accomplished great things because they believed in their cause and in themselves, and looked only to God for help.

It is not part of this narrative to trace the expedition step by step. Governor Shirley gave Pepperrell the most elaborate orders how to proceed,[3] and Pepperrell followed them only so far as common sense dictated. The expedition sailed March 24 from Nantasket, put into Sheepscot River next day to avoid a storm, and stayed four days wind-bound, but reached Canso April 4, which they found recaptured and fortified.[4] Here they assembled their forces and were joined by Commodore Warren and some other English ships, but could not proceed farther on account of the ice. They were delayed till April 30, when they reached Chapeau Rouge Bay and landed in the face of rather weak opposition, as the blockade had been so close that the garrison had not the slightest idea that the expedition was close at hand. Alexander Tarent, one of the Salem soldiers, was badly wounded at the landing and was the first casualty.[1]

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[1] E.I.H.C., vi, 184. [2] *Ibid.*, 185. [3] 1 M.H.S.C., i, 5.

[4] *Journal of Sir William Pepperrell*, *Am. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, new series, xx, 139.

The harbor of Louisburg is an irregular oval about two miles long, opening to the sea by a narrow entrance about halfway down one side. On the southwesterly point lay the town and fortress. On the northeasterly one there was nothing but a lighthouse, but in the middle of the entrance was Goat Island with a powerful battery, and directly opposite the entrance and little more than half a mile away was the Grand Battery. The town was strongly defended on the land side by walls and a moat, but the Grand Battery had little defense toward the land.[2] Chapeau Rouge Bay, or Gabarus Bay, as the provincial troops called it, where the landing was made, was some three miles southwesterly along the shore, but Pepperrell promptly established his camp a mile and a half nearer the town. A force was immediately sent around to the northeast end of the harbor to burn some French storehouses. The smoke so terrified the French at the Grand Battery that they spiked the guns and abandoned it in haste, so the raiding party on their return captured it without firing a shot.

Attempts to take the Island Battery resulted only in heavy losses. Captain Curwen, the commissary, in a letter to his wife on June 2 wrote: 'We have made an attempt on the island battery in which we failed. One hundred & fifty men are missing yet the most of whom we are in hopes are taken. . . . Among the dead are young Gray who lived with Britton who was shot in the neck and three more that belonged to Captain Grant are still missing.'[1] Evidently the men in the Salem companies did not hang back at the call for volunteers for this dangerous expedition.

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[1] Felt, 2d, II, 511.

[2] The site of Louisburg has recently been taken over by the Canadian government, an attractive museum built and much excavation done. In the museum there is an interesting model of the city as it was when the New England troops attacked it.

The redoubts were pushed steadily forward toward the westerly gate, partly equipped with the heavy guns from the Grand Battery, which, in the absence of draft animals, were dragged forward through the swamps by the indomitable men, and by June 17 there was hardly a house in the town not riddled by shot and shell. Richard Gridley, who laid out the redoubt on Bunker Hill thirty years later, was the chief artillery officer, but very few men in the army knew anything at all about artillery. There were almost no men who knew how to aim and charge heavy guns. Guns blew up and men were killed. Powder got scarce and Pepperrell borrowed fifty barrels at a time from the fleet. A lot of men came down with dysentery from exposure and overexertion. Provisions got short and the transports were sent out fishing to help out the supplies, and did help materially. 'If anyone has a difficult task, t'is the Commissarys,' writes George Curwen, 'for we have people continually after us for provisions. But I am willing to undergo anything for the good of our proceeding.'[2]

The fleet lay off the harbor and no relief could come in. A big French line-of-battle ship, with all sorts of supplies for the fortress, was captured and the supplies used against it. Finally the land forces and the fleet decided on a joint attack, but on June 17 the French commander surrendered and the wild crusade ended in complete victory.[3]

Like all irregular troops, the moment the job was accomplished, the provincial levies wanted to go home, but somebody had to stay to hold the fortress till British regular troops, which had been promised, arrived. As late as November, Captain Grant was still there with thirty-five men of his company present for duty, and Captain King had twenty-one.[1] Captain Samuel Curwen, who went down with the Eighth Massachusetts Regiment sent early in July, had returned before December, though the first company made up largely of Salem men was still there.[2]

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[1] *Curwen's Letters*, E.I.H.C., III, 188. [2] *Ibid.*, 187.

[3] See Parkman: *Half Century of Conflict*, II, 90–144, for detailed account.

General Pepperrell was created a baronet and Commodore Warren was made an admiral, and, though certain English writers tried to depreciate the value of the provincial effort, Warren always acknowledged it, and it is clear to anyone that a naval force alone could not have captured the fortress. Pepperrell was said to have contributed from his private purse ten thousand pounds to the cost of the expedition, and if Benjamin Pickman was the next largest contributor, as has been claimed,[3] his share of the expense must have been considerable.

General Pepperrell, now Sir William, arrived in Boston in June, 1746, and, strangely enough, it was in that year that Salem had its first real Fourth-of-July celebration, though no one then knew what a momentous day it was likely to be in the history of the country. On that day Pepperrell set out for Kittery escorted by a numerous cavalcade of officers and gentlemen. In Lynn he was met by a substantial party of Salem gentlemen who escorted him to Salem. The Salem turnpike was not yet built and the road from Lynn to Marblehead was little more than a track along the beaches, so no doubt he followed the old Boston Road through Peabody, or the Middle Precinct as it then was. Down Boston Street across the old Town Bridge, the procession came, and as it swung into the Main Street, the bells in all the meeting-houses were ringing and a general's salute was fired as he reached the Town House, where a magnificent dinner was served. We can well imagine who was at that dinner. No one had a better right to preside than Benjamin Pickman. The baronet doubtless sat on his right hand. Colonel Moulton, Colonel Hale, and Colonel Choate of the Essex regiments, resplendent in scarlet uniforms, were no doubt there if they had got home. Benjamin Lynde, Jr., who had just been appointed to the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, probably sat on Mr. Pickman's left as the most eminent citizen of Salem. Then perhaps William Browne, who had just retired as a member of the governor's council, came next with Colonel Ichabod Plaisted, Timothy Orne, John Gardner, and Thomas Lee. Richard Derby was still captain of the schooner *Exeter* and probably away or he would surely have been present. The Reverend John Sparhawk, minister of the First Church, who was the brother of Sir William's son-in-law, was no doubt invited to invoke the divine blessing and he undoubtedly did it at considerable length. The King's health was drunk and that of the baronet, of Governor Shirley, and of Admiral Warren. The officers and men of Salem were not forgotten. As each health was drunk, the cannon were fired in Town House Square and the troop of horse fired three volleys. After all this, it is certainly a tribute to Sir William's vitality that he was able to mount his horse at the head of his cavalcade and ride to the Beverly Ferry and on to Newbury, where he arrived at eleven o'clock at night![1] As he rode down the hill to the thirty-third milestone, opposite Governor Dummer's beautiful mansion, no doubt that worthy old

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[1] *Pepperrell Papers*, 6 M.H.S.C., x, 545, 546.

[2] *Ibid.*, 556.

[3] Dow: *Pickman Diary*, 14.

[1] Parsons: *Life of Sir William Pepperrell*, 142.

gentleman came out to greet him and cheer him on his way.

Benjamin Pickman's services were not forgotten by a grateful province, and in 1749 a beautiful piece of silver, made by Swan, the Boston silversmith, was presented to him for his distinguished services, inscribed, 'The Gift of the Province of Massachusetts Bay to Benjamin Pickman Esquire.' After a long career in the Pickman family, it was finally presented by Hersey Derby Pickman, of Dillon, Montana, to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in 1902 and deposited by it in the Essex Institute.[1]

The Louisburg campaign pretty well stopped the French danger to the fisheries of New England, save for the threat of an attack by the French squadron under D'Anville,[2] which threw the coast into a panic during the following summer until the glad news of the dispersal of this fleet by a storm reached port. Some of the scattered ships captured three or four Salem vessels.[3] The war was not, however, over by any means. All during the year 1746, the little trading ships to the West Indies were dodging French privateers. The sloop *Swallow*, Captain Nathaniel Ingersoll, was captured twenty-five leagues from Antigua and carried into Martinico, where the vessel and cargo were condemned.[4] Jonathan Webb, of the sloop *Lynn*, had even worse luck, for the French sloop put him ashore at St. Bartholomew before taking his ship to Martinico.[5] These ships were captured by different privateers and several others are mentioned, so there must have been many of them at sea. Sometimes these provincial vessels were recaptured, but even then it was not so easy to get them back. Jacob Parsons of Cape Ann made a strong effort to regain his sloop *Willard*, which had been rechristened *La Fortune* and then recaptured by H.M.S. *Saxon* and condemned at Antigua, but whether he succeeded the record does not show.[1]

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[1] Rantoul: *The Pickman Silver*, E.I.H.C., xxxix, 97.

[2] Hutchinson, ii, 381–84.

[3] *Boston Evening Post*, Jan. 12, 1747.

[4] *Essex County Notarial Records*, E.I.H.C., xlvi, 86.

[5] *Ibid.*, 87.

Even Benjamin Pickman's square-sterned schooner of eighty tons, named the *Love*, seems to have been condemned for some cause in 1748, and in spite of affidavits acknowledged before even the Governor and the collector of the port, and followed up for nine years, he did not succeed in getting her.[2]

During the year 1746, no less than twenty raiding parties of French and Indians were started off from Montreal and returned with some scalps.[3] Since the last war the outlying settlements had pushed eastward as far as the Penobscot and north and west up the Merrimack and Connecticut Rivers, so the frontier was farther back. Gorham, Maine, Boscawen, Hopkinton, and Keene, New Hampshire, and Adams, Massachusetts, represented the extreme extent of the frontier, and all these points suffered. It is all the same story: the sudden attack on men traveling along the roads or working in the fields, slaying some and carrying others away captive; houses burned, women and children captured or murdered; sometimes a stubborn attack on a garrison house, which was sometimes as stubbornly defended or sometimes weakly surrendered by a garrison which was murdered or carried away captive. Fort Number Four, the farthest north in the Connecticut valley, was attacked, and bravely defended by Phineas Stevens. Fort Massachusetts in Adams was captured after the powder gave out, and the garrison was carried to Canada. A day-to-day diary of their capture and captivity was later printed by the chaplain.[4]

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[1] *Essex County Notarial Records*, E.I.H.C., XLVI, 92.

[2] *Ibid.*, 276–77.

[3] Drake: *French and Indian War*, 1744–47, 35–40.

[4] Rev. John Norton: *Redeemed Captive*, Boston, 1748.

The establishment during this war of a French post on Crown Point in Lake Champlain was a new source of danger, but the English failed to attack it and it was strengthened as a source of future trouble. The war ended with the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, but it turned out to be little more than a brief truce. All captures were restored to the *status quo* before the war, to the great wrath of New England as far as Louisburg was concerned. The peace was inconclusive in any accurate definition of boundaries and left the seeds of future trouble. As soon as the news of the peace reached Boston, an arrangement was made with the eastern Indians at Saint George's Fort very much along the lines of Governor Dummer's treaty. The frontier now quieted down for a breathing spell before the last bloody contest began five years later. Meanwhile, however, except for the dangers to her men at sea, Salem was so far behind the frontier that the war did not touch her directly, although men were constantly being impressed or enlisted from Colonel Plaisted's regiment for service to the eastward, and in the last year of the war his regiment supplied at least fifteen men for Black Point and York.[1]

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[1] *Mass. Archives*, copied in E.I.H.C., xxix, 176.

CHAPTER XIII

CHURCH DIVISIONS AND THE GREAT AWAKENING

It seems inevitable that a period of great religious enthusiasm and spiritual emotion should be accompanied by intolerance and a desire for uniformity among all the people. As this spirit of intolerance wanes, so does the religious enthusiasm. Perhaps the two go and come together. When men cease to feel the compelling force of religious conviction, they cease to care what other men think; or it may be the other way around. When they cease to be able to compel uniformity to their ideals, they may begin to doubt the compelling force of those beliefs.

At any rate, with the downfall of the theocratic Puritan State when the old charter was annulled and the requirement of toleration for the Quakers and the Church of England was enforced, the strength of the Puritan Church waned. For a long time to come it was to remain a potent force, but it began to lack the power to enforce its decrees; its members showed more independence of thought, and were more inclined to demand that matters be arranged in accordance with their own wishes. The laymen challenged the verdicts of the ministers with more freedom, and groups of slightly varying opinions demanded churches of their own.

There were various reasons alleged for the division of the churches, but back of it all was a spirit of restlessness and growing independence. The people in the Middle Precinct and the Second Church were no farther from the First Church than they had been for a hundred years, and no more crowded. Those were the excuses rather than the reasons for separation. Likewise, differences over ministers were an indication of growing independence. The various groups wanted to run their own affairs in their own way. After the churches had subdivided, there came a further movement among the individuals within the churches. If they liked another minister better than their own, they went to hear him in spite of remonstrances and admonitions.

As has been said,[1] the Middle Precinct was set off in 1710, and what is now the First Congregational Church of Peabody had its beginning. Their first minister, the Reverend Benjamin Prescott, was a distinguished and able man and took a prominent part in church affairs for over forty years. Until 1749, he seems to have served with complete satisfaction, but then difficulties began to arise over salary and his long service terminated in 1752. Attempts were made to settle the Reverend Aaron Putnam and the Reverend Josiah Stearns, but without success, and at last, in 1758, the Reverend Nathan Holt was settled and served the church until his death in 1792. When Danvers was set off from Salem, first as a 'district' in 1752 and later as a full-fledged town in 1757, the activities of the Middle Precinct ceased to be a part of Salem history.

One of the reasons that the old churches objected usually to the establishment of new ones was that the church rates were still enforceable taxes, and the alienation of a group of people meant just that much reduction of income which had to be reassessed on the remaining people. To show that the collection of rates was no idle demand, the warrant to John Tarbell, collector for the Middle Precinct in 1720, may well be quoted. In case of failure to pay, he is 'to distrain the goods or chattles of the person or persons soe refusing for ye payment of ye same, and for want of goods or chattles whereon to make distress you are to seeze the body or bodyes of the person or persons so refusing and are to commit them to ye common gaoll in Salem untill he or they pay or satisfie the sum or sums that they are Rated or assessed.'[1] Times have somewhat changed (1937) with regard to the enforcement of legal tax indebtedness.

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[1] See Chapter VI.

In spite of some objections from the First Church, the Middle Precinct had on the whole departed in peace and started on its independent career; so also had the Second Church, usually called the East Church. Probably the deaths of Mr. Corwin and Mr. Noyes so close together and the discussions over a new minister previous to the election of Mr. Fiske had fomented the desire of the people in the easterly part of the town to have their own church. The movement had begun in 1717, and in August a piece of land on Grafton's Lane, now the corner of Essex and Hardy Streets, was bought of Christopher Babbidge; the deed begins quaintly, 'To all Christian People Greeting, Know ye,' etc. The committee proceeded at once to erect 'a meeting house 60 foot long, forty foot wide and 26 foot stud.'[2] Mr. Abraham Chillton, who was to frame the meeting-house, was to get the enormous amount of five shillings sixpence per day and his 'diet' but — anyway, he worked more diligently than many nowadays paid far more — and the Reverend Samuel Wigglesworth preached the first sermon in the new meeting-house. By autumn, 1718, the members were ready for action and a committee composed of John Turner, William Pickering, Philip English, and Jacob Manning petitioned the General Court for a division line in the town to determine the liability for church rates,[3] and seven councillors and representatives were appointed to investigate the matter. On December 25, thirty-six members of the First Church were dismissed to this parish, of whom ten were men and the rest women.[1] It is a curious fact that not one of the original committee is on the list nor is one of these surnames, except that of Pickering, but there are four Foots and five Willards, including Malachi Foot and Simon Willard. Presumably the committee and many others were members of the society. When the sum of one hundred and twenty-five pounds was raised in ministers' rates the following year, John Turner was down for twelve pounds, and the following men all paid two pounds or more: John Becket, Joseph Browne, Philip English, Sr. and Jr., Paul Mansfield, Jacob Manning, Abraham Purchase, and Josiah Willard.

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[1] Hanson: *History of Danvers*, 238–43.

[2] *East Church Records*, 1.

[3] *Journals of the House of Representatives*, II, 186, 203.

The question of support of the church was ever a serious problem, and in 1725 the East Society suggested to the First Church that the ministers be supported by a town rate divided between the two because several of their principal men had gone off to the Marblehead Episcopal Church and others back to the First, so that now their poorest people had to pay nine shillings while those in the First paid but two shillings sixpence.[2]

The Reverend Robert Stanton was ordained in the spring of 1718 and held the pastorate till his early death in 1727: a great loss to the church and the town. The Reverend William Jennison succeeded, but stayed only eight years. The Reverend James Diman followed him and led the church for nearly fifty years. During his early years his services were very satisfactory, but differences with his colleague, the famous Doctor Bentley, clouded his old age. The East Church had, however, on the whole, a singularly united career.

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[1] List in Felt, 1st, 559; *East Church MSS.* in Essex Institute.

[2] Felt, 2d, II, 592.

One of those who refused to pay his rates to the East Church in 1725 was Philip English, although he had served on the committee for organizing that church. No doubt his sufferings during the witchcraft delusion had left him disaffected with the Puritan Church and he fell under the influence of the Church of England. He was imprisoned for failure to pay his rates, but was presently released. As Episcopalian churches had begun to grow up in the province, it was natural that there should presently be a movement in that direction in Salem. In 1732, the General Court passed a law exempting Episcopalians from the payment of taxes for the support of the ministry as the Quakers and Baptists had been previously exempted. The following year Philip English and some of his friends gave the land on Prison Lane, where Saint Peter's Church still stands, and a church edifice was erected. Services were more or less regularly held till finally the Reverend Charles Brockwell, a graduate of Cambridge, England, entered on his duties in 1738. This was probably the first Episcopal Church organization in the town. The claim that John Lyford, who came to Gloucester with Roger Conant, established services in Salem is extremely unlikely. In the first place, it is somewhat vaguely stated that he ever came to Salem and, if he did, it certainly cannot be proved that he ever held services there.[1]

Mr. Brockwell officiated for about nine years, when the Bishop of London proposed to remove him to King's Chapel, and in due time the Reverend William McGilchrist came to take his place. The parish was helped with both of these gentlemen by funds from the Society for the

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[1] Phippen: *Old Planters*, E.I.H.C., 1, 148, 149, asserts but does not prove it. See also Hubbard: *General History*, 2 M.H.S.C., v, 93, 108; Bradford: *History*, 1, 411, 418, notes.

Propagation of the Gospel. It was during Mr. Brockwell's term of service that the first organ ever used in a Salem church was installed by John Clark.

Thirty-two men were members of the church in 1736, and at least two of them, Philip English and Jacob Manning, had been leading members of the East Church. Other well-known men were David Britton, William Browne, Jonathan Beadle, John Touzel, Stephen Daniels, Clifford Crowninshield, and Doctor Samuel Ghatman.[1] The second rector of the parish during his long service made a place for himself among the best educated and most cultured men of the town, and though his last years were disturbed by the closing of his church by law during the Revolution, he did not leave the town and in spite of every abuse refused to omit the prayers for the king.

One other church, older than any except the First Church, should be mentioned in this grouping, although after its first excitement it quietly went its way attending to its own business and respecting the affairs of others. This was the Society of Friends, popularly called the Quakers. That belligerent gentleman, Thomas Maule, who 'mauled the Puritans with their own weapons,' built in 1688 the first Friends' Meeting-House on the south side of Essex Street about opposite Monroe Street. In 1716, a new house was built next to the Quaker burying ground farther up on the other side of Essex Street.

When the long contest with the Reverend Samuel Fiske and his adherents in the First Church ended with his expulsion, he insisted that the society he started was the 'First Church,' and for some time this claim was acknowledged to the extent that the original group occupying the building on the site of the First Church called themselves, for a time, 'The Church and Parish of the Confederate

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[1] List in Felt, 1st, 560.

Society in Salem.' But in 1762 the portion of the church that followed Mr. Fiske surrendered all claims to the name of the First Church and it reverted to its original owners, and what is now the Tabernacle Church became the 'Third Church of Christ in Salem.' Mr. Fiske continued as pastor of the separated church for eight or nine years, but by temperament he was not fitted for a quiet ministration. Troubles and differences soon arose, and these were fomented by a very notable religious revival which spread over New England. The impressions created by Mr. Dwight L. Moody, and more lately by Billy Sunday, were not comparable to the first great revival in New England.

The period from 1730 on was one of intense religious belief, and this began to crystallize into action. If you really believed in eternal punishment and eternal salvation, it was high time you did something about it. There were friends to be saved and perchance enemies to be damned, or at least convinced that immediate reformation was their only hope, and slender at that. Jonathan Edwards of Northampton, in his famous sermon on 'Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God,' [1] gave the classic example of the urge to repentance by terrorization. Some of the ministers were caught by the lure of the apparently rapid results of this emotional religion, while others realized its dangers and that the equally emphatic reaction bound to follow would be serious.

It is true that the distinctive emphasis of the Great Awakening was on conversion through the working of the Spirit of God on the individual soul, but a good deal of hysteria went with it. Evangelists began to travel over the land; ministers left their pulpits and sought wider fields. They preached in the open air or in churches.

[1] *Works*, VII, 486.

Ministers who would not lend their pulpits were denounced. Parishes were divided and differences of opinion arose. One Tennent was perhaps the most virulent of them. At least he possessed a picturesque power of invective when he called the clergy 'Caterpillars, Dead Dogs that cannot Bark, Guides that are Stone Blind,' etc. The famous George Whitefield, an eloquent English preacher and friend of the Wesleys, began his travels through New England just at this time and became a definite part of the movement. He was a Calvinist and finally broke with the Wesleys on the doctrine of predestination, but that did not render him less popular in New England. His original mission to America was the starting of an orphan asylum in Georgia, but he traveled through all the colonies, preaching and exhorting as he went. He reached Salem in 1740 and says: 'I preached to about 7000.[1] Here the Lord manifested forth his Glory. In every Part of the Congregation Persons might be seen under great Concern; One Mr. Clark, a good Minister, as is granted by all Lovers of God, seemed to be almost in heaven.'[2] The Mr. Clark was undoubtedly the Reverend Peter Clark, of the church at Salem Village, who had succeeded the Reverend Joseph Green some twenty years before. One might have thought that the outburst of emotional fanaticism at the witchcraft time fifty years before might have saved that section from another outbreak, but Mr. Clark had not himself known that episode. As well as Mr. Clark, the Reverend John Cleaveland, of Chebacco Parish, took up the enthusiasm.[3]

Marblehead remained strangely cold to the new light, for while Whitefield, hospitably entertained by the Reverend John Barnard, 'preached to some Thousands in a Broad Place in the middle of the Town,' he had to admit it was 'not with much visible Effect.' [1] The answer is to be found in Barnard's own autobiography in which he says: 'In the time of the Whitefieldian ferment, in 1741, I was enabled, by the grace of God, so to conduct as not only to preserve my own flock in peace and quietness, but to prevent the other church in town, and their minister, from being thrown into like disorders and confusions in which so many towns and churches in the country were involved.' [2]

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[1] 'Near 6000,' *Lynde Diaries*, 161.

[2] Felt, 2d, II, 597.

[3] Billings: *The Great Awakening*, E.I.H.C., LXV, 102.

In Salem itself the movement could have taken little hold. Outside of Whitefield's journal it is practically not mentioned. The Reverend John Sparhawk, of the First Church, and the Reverend James Diman, of the East Church, were conservative men and doubtless assumed an attitude comparable to that of Doctor Barnard. Mr. Fiske was temperamental enough, but he would never have accepted a point of view forced on him by outsiders. The Reverend Benjamin Prescott, of the Middle Precinct, took an active stand against the methods of the revivalists. He wrote and published a letter to Mr. Whitefield taking him to task for 'itinerating over all Parts of the British Dominions' and severely criticizing the findings in his journal. Assemblies of ministers and the officers of both Harvard and Yale attacked Whitefield and his imitators. Taken all in all, the weight of authority seemed to be against him.[3]

The only church that seems to have been seriously affected was Mr. Fiske's. Remembering the stubbornness with which his people supported him a few years before, it seems strange to think that a part of them should now be discarding him, but it is only another evidence of the instability and lack of real purpose of contentious persons. In April, 1745, the Reverend Dudley Leavitt, called a 'new light' because an advocate of Whitefield's revival, was invited to preach by a minority of the church, and a little later the pastoral relation with Mr. Fiske was dissolved. The feeling ran pretty high. Mr. Leavitt as a representative of the revival was opposed by the more serious people for that very reason.

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[1] Whitefield's *Journal*, in Dow: *Two Centuries of Travel in Essex County*, 71.

[2] Barnard: *Autobiography*, 3 M.H.S.C., v, 229, 230.

[3] These pamphlets are collected in vol. xvii of the Controversial Pamphlets in the Essex Institute.

In October, a small council met to ordain Mr. Leavitt, but adjourned for three weeks on account of the opposition. When they assembled again, the excitement had increased and the opposition strengthened. As they proceeded toward the meeting-house, they were warned that they would not be admitted, and in fact some justices of the peace forbade their entrance. The justices were pushed aside and the council entered in spite of the remarks of the justices and the protests of the proprietors. One of the council entered the pulpit and began to pray, but the proprietors called out to forbid him and the justices ordered the sheriff to drive him out. The sheriff threw a hat in his face and, amid great tumult, the council, Mr. Leavitt, and his friends retired to Mr. Kitchin's orchard, where Mr. Leavitt was duly ordained under an apple tree. In spite of all this, Mr. Leavitt prevailed and eventually worshiped with his friends in the church whence he had been ejected. The quarrels had a happy termination, for presently most of the churches that had joined in the sentence of excommunication ten years before withdrew it and the church regained its standing.[1]

The next real change in the church life of the community came with the early death of Mr. Sparhawk of the

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[1] Felt, 2d, II, 598, 599.

First Church, in April, 1755. He was only forty-two years old, but had already been the pastor for nineteen years and was greatly beloved and respected. He was in the prime of life, so his death was most unexpected and was a severe blow to his congregation. Six months later, the Reverend Thomas Barnard, who had been the minister at Newbury, was installed and began another long term of service.[1]

Thus, by the middle of the century four Congregational churches were serving the territory which had been served by one previous to 1718, and they were a very vital part of the town life. Down to this time there was practically no social or intellectual organization in the town outside of the churches. Everything revolved around them, and even the men had not begun to organize for any purposes. The church life was a very real activity and a part of the life of every man and woman in the community.

Of the two other societies, the Quaker meeting was nearly a hundred years old and had its special separate activities. The Episcopal Church represented the newest line of cleavage. It not only opposed the Puritan form of religion, but it sided with the party of the crown against the New England form of government. It was the church of the royal governors and of the officers of the crown who were sent over to regulate the customs and gather the taxes. Inevitably there was an antagonism quite apart from its religious exercises. Its members, if they were natives, lost some of their contacts with their neighbors, and its members from among the crown officers tended to emphasize its isolation from the community.

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[1] *Lynde Diaries*, 178, 179.

CHAPTER XIV

THE MAIN STREET IN 1750

In spite of the fact that her ships were visiting half of the ports around the Atlantic, Salem was still little more than a village. Town House Square, which ran from the Town House beside the First Church to the schoolhouse at the north end, was a broad and no doubt dusty way with perhaps more or less grass in the middle and perhaps a line of hitching-posts. On the westerly side was a line of small single dwelling-houses. At the corner the son of Edmund Batter was still living in the old house built[1] by his father in the seventeenth century. He was a tanner and nearly eighty years old in 1750. Captain Habakkuk Gardner lived next and then Edward Norris, the grandson of the early minister. The cantankerous Reverend Samuel Fiske lived next, and then William Hunt, one of the merchants[2] whose house stood till the nineteenth century.

On the opposite side, the widow Pratt, now a very old lady, was still keeping the tavern which bore her name, at the corner. It had been the home of Major Walter Price fifty years before and was a good large house. Just what other houses there were west of it is not clear, but there was a lot of Orne property along here, and Timothy Orne, Jr., lived at this time in the old Daniel Epes house on the northern corner of what is now Church Street before he moved to his new house on Essex Street, near Sewall Street. The old Town House, used as a school, was in the middle of the street a little north of Church Street.

[1] *Salem in the Seventeenth Century*, 131.

[2] *Essex Antiquarian*, II, 168, 172–74.

On the north side of the Main Street east of the square, and beyond Pratt's Tavern, was the house of James King, the blacksmith, and perhaps his forge. Passing over several dilapidated old houses, in one of which lived a certain Mr. Mayfield, 'the fatest man ever known in the town of Salem,'[1] we come to the fine new house of Colonel John Turner and the old Browne house on the corner of Prison Lane occupied by the Reverend John Sparhawk. Beyond lived Nathaniel Osgood, a cordwainer, and then the Honorable William Browne, of 'Browne's Folly.' Next came the old Simon Bradstreet house, long known as the Globe Tavern, but taken down in 1753. It had belonged latterly to the Ropes family. Below this lived[2] James Bowditch, whose daughter married William Jeffrey, and Captain Jonathan Gardner, whose son married a daughter of the Honorable Richard Derby. The house at the corner of the street leading to the Common was also Gardner property.[3]

On the south side of the Main Street, just east of the First Church, stood the old house of Samuel Phillips, the goldsmith, though owned by the estate of Samuel Browne, whose mansion adjoined it. Colonel Samuel Browne, his son, lived in it a little later and tore down the old Phillips house to build one for his mother, who married a Sargent. Abigail Allen's School was kept there at one time. The Browne property extended nearly to Central Street,[4] but Captain Ebenezer Bowditch lived near the corner; perhaps there were some little shops on the exact corner. The second house below the corner was built by Colonel Thomas Barton and was still owned by his family. His granddaughter married the son of Benjamin Pickman, who had just built next door the famous gambrel-roof house with the codfish on the stair rises, which still stands dejected behind a shop. James Lindall was his neighbor beyond on the property where the East India Marine Hall now stands. Colonel Ichabod Plaisted lived in the second house below. The Honorable Benjamin Lynde owned the house at the corner of the Burying Point Lane, now Liberty Street.[1] Across the lane lived Doctor Joseph Bartlett. He inherited the house from Captain Walter Price, and his son, Walter Price Bartlett, lived in it later. Captain Thomas Mason owned the property just below it, and in 1755 built a fine house which he occupied for thirty years or more. Captain Joseph Grafton lived next in an old house that was built before 1700.

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[1] *Colonel Benjamin Pickman's Account*, E.I.H.C., vi, 100.

[2] Where the Essex Institute entrance is.

[3] *Essex Antiquarian*, viii, 22–24, 113–18, E.I.H.C., vi, 97–99.

[4] See *Col. William Browne House*, E.I.H.C., lxxii, 283.

The Main Street from what is now Central Street to Hawthorne Boulevard was evidently the desirable place in which to live in 1750. Many of the best people in the town were undoubtedly there, but let us also turn for a moment to that portion of the street west of Town House Square. On the north side beyond the Batter house, a lot of small buildings had crept in, used for shops, and also Doctor Leavitt's church, but there was a large house beyond occupied by Colonel Benjamin Pickman till he built his house down the street in 1750. Beyond a few small shops was the ancient house occupied by Timothy Orne. Across Sewall Street stood the venerable Sewall homestead, occupied till 1748 by Mitchell Sewall, who died there, after which Mr. William Lynde occupied it for five years or so. Then came a couple of small lots, including one owned by the children of Henry West, before we reach the Deliverance Parkman house on the corner of Weld's Lane, now North Street, occupied at this

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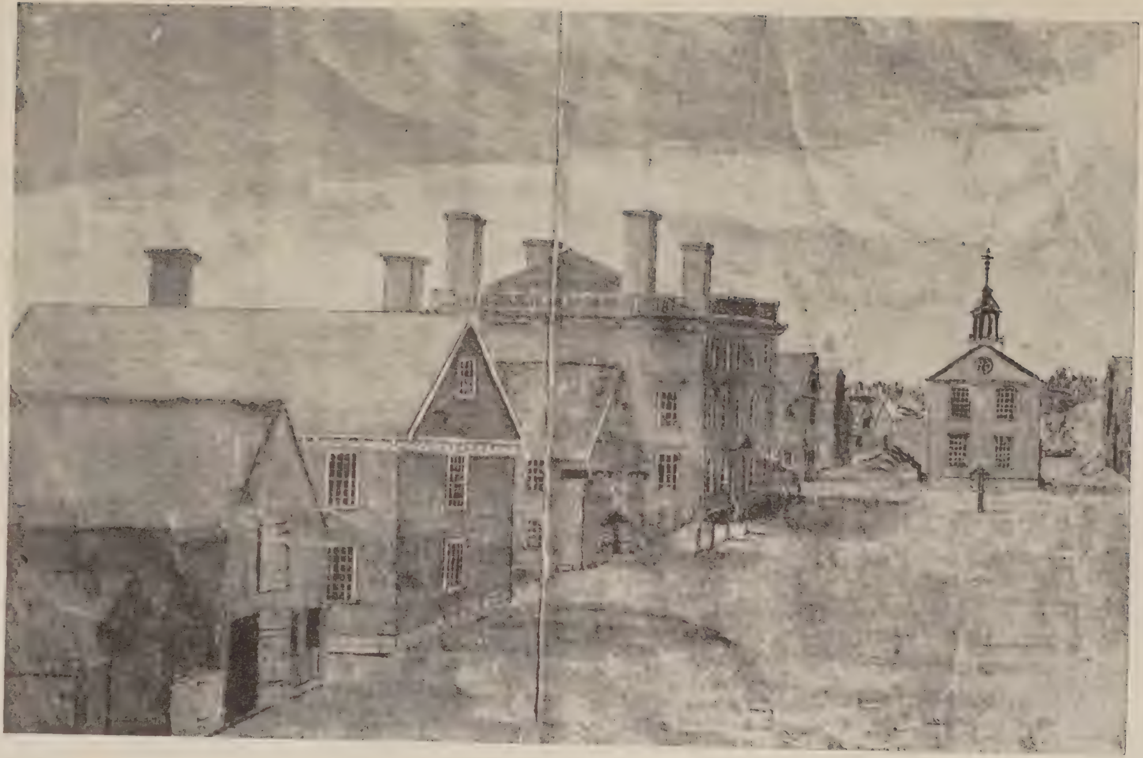
[1] *Essex Antiquarian*, xi, 68–71; E.I.H.C., vi, 95, 96.



TOWN HOUSE SQUARE ABOUT 1765

time by John Clarke, who was a grandson of Bartholomew Gedney.[1]

Going west from Town House Square on the south side of the Main Street, David Britton, Esq., lived for many years on the corner. Next came a house owned and occupied by Joseph Hathorne and then several small shops owned then, or a little later, by John Appleton, one of which was occupied by Samuel Hall, the first printer of Salem. Samuel Barton, Esq., lived in a large house on the corner of Barton Square — hence the name. The second house beyond the square was Higginson property and Stephen Higginson, judge of the inferior court, lived there in 1750. Captain Samuel Gardner lived beyond, next to what is now Crombie Street, which, however, did not then exist, and Mrs. John Cabot, the widow of the physician who had just died, lived next. The adjoining estate was owned by her brother-in-law, Francis Cabot. The corner of Summer Street was occupied by a house where lived Captain Samuel West.

It will be seen that the shops were mingling with the houses and that there were more houses than in earlier days. The shops were most numerous near Town House Square, and ran down what is now Washington Street toward the water and around the basin where the railway station now stands. Such warehouses as there were stood there, but they were small affairs, probably two or perhaps even three stories high, and resembled barns as much as anything. The merchants usually kept shops in their warehouses and had some kind of counting-room of a modest sort with room for one or two clerks, who kept books, took care of the goods, and waited on such customers as came in.

There was not yet any newspaper to advertise in, so the fact that a merchant had new goods to sell was passed around by word of mouth. Everybody in town knew whenever a ship arrived and whose ship it was. All the goods came by water, and it was pretty well noised abroad where things could be got. The attitude was very different from that of today. Customers searched around for things they wanted; the merchant did not have to go looking for chances to sell.

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[1] *Essex Antiquarian*, II, 167–71; E.I.H.C., VI, 105, 106.

Colonel Goelet, who visited Salem in 1750, said it 'consists of about 450 houses, Several of which are neat Buildings, but all of wood, and Covers a Great Deal of Ground, being at a Convenient Distance from Each Other with fine Gardens back their Houses.'[1] These gardens were a more important feature in the town than mere flower gardens would be. In these gardens grew the more delicious table vegetables not easily obtained, as there were as yet no markets as we think of them. The housewife had to depend on her kitchen garden for beans and peas, spinach and parsley, radishes, and at about this time tomatoes, introduced from Mexico. Peaches and plums, pears and cherries, if they were to be had at all either for eating or preserving, had to be raised largely in a person's own garden. If his neighbors had any, they kept them for their own use. Field crops, such as carrots, turnips, onions, corn, beets, and the potato (recently brought back from Ireland by the Scotch-Irish emigrants who came after 1720), were usually brought in by the farmers from Danvers or Wenham.

There was a line of somewhat widely separated houses extending westerly on what is now Essex Street beyond the corner where the ancient Corwin house still stands. The land east along the present Summer Street was swampy for some distance and undesirable for building, so there were few houses until the rising ground south of Norman Street was reached, where the settlement early established around the head of the creek was still located. Between the easterly portion of the Main Street and the harbor there were many houses along English's, Daniels's, Turner's, Becket's, and the other lanes, but with a few exceptions these were the houses of the poorer people.

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[1] Dow: *Two Centuries of Travel*, 75.

It was a busy little town even for the wealthier people. The ladies spun and wove and knitted. Days were devoted to the making of fragrant bayberry candles and to the far less fragrant making of barrels of soap. The houses had no central heating and no stoves, and the warmth of the great wood fireplaces did not extend to halls and bedrooms. Plumbing was non-existent, and probably in the morning chill of a winter bedroom, water was used more sparingly than was desirable or sanitary.

Wood was the only fuel, and wood was expensive and not easy to obtain. There was probably far less woodland in Essex County then than there is today. The pressure for farmland to raise food for a community that was already importing grain from Maryland and Virginia was pretty strong, and much poor land was then cleared that has since gone back to woodlots. A great deal of firewood was brought down from the Maine coast in sloops.[1]

The architecture of the Main Street was gradually changing. It is true that the sharp roofs with their numerous gables still persisted in some cases, but they had proved unfit on account of the accumulation of snow that came with a real New England winter. The snow collected between the gables and the water forced itself back between the shingles and ran into the houses. The overhanging second stories copied from England, and originally devised to give more space in the second story in the congested space of a mediaeval town, were quite out of place in the amplitude of a New England village. The gambrel roof, which was well adapted to our weather and gave excellent space in the attic, had just come in and was the fashionable type for the better houses. The big square colonial house had scarcely appeared at all, and reached its prime in post-Revolutionary days. So the Main Street was probably a mixture of the old sharp gables, of the pleasing new gambrel roofs, and of the smaller, simpler houses, some of them end to the street with little shops on the first floor. Some of these may have been crowded close together, but probably did not touch, while the larger houses were thirty or forty feet apart at least, with comfortable space about them and large gardens behind, but rather limited front yards according to the custom of the times. Undoubtedly every yard was well fenced, for a man then regarded his yard as his own property and did not view with satisfaction its promiscuous use by the community.

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[1] Proclamation of Governor Shirley, *Boston News Letter*, Aug. 8, 1745.

No part of the Main Street was yet paved, and the westerly portion from the square to Summer Street ran through what was formerly a swamp, so it must have been distinctly bad going in March when the frost was coming out of the ground. This portion was paved in 1773 and the easterly portion in 1793.[1] There were no paved sidewalks for years after 1750.

The nearest census to this time is that of 1754, which enumerates the houses and persons in the town at that time, exclusive of the Danvers District, which included the Middle Precinct, now called Peabody. Danvers District had been erected by Act of the General Court of January 25, 1752, because 'most of the inhabitants of the First Parish are either Merchants, Traders or Mechanics

[1] *Pickman's Account*, E.I.H.C., vi, 93, 109.

and those of the Village and Middle Parishes are chiefly husbandmen.'[1] Therefore, there were in the town, which had now been reduced to its final limits, 3462 people, of whom 1629 were males and 1710 females and 123 blacks of both sexes. The perils of the seafaring life are evidenced by the fact that of the 1710 females 205 were widows.[2]

There were three hundred and seventy-two houses in the town, and between 1750 and 1760 sixty more buildings were constructed, including a brick schoolhouse, but how many of these were built after 1754 is not stated.[3] Progress at the rate of six houses a year is a fair assumption.

While physical connection between the main town and the South Fields had been effected over the Mill Dam on the South River, where the crossing at the Boston end of the railroad station now is, there had not been any bridge over the North River. In 1742, James Lindall and other proprietors of the North Fields petitioned for permission to build such a bridge. It was to be eighteen feet wide and to have a draw eighteen feet wide for vessels. It is a strange evidence of how things have changed in that vicinity that the bridge with its approaches was eight hundred and sixty feet long when completed in 1744! Many conditions in regard to keeping the bridge in repair and allowing free use to inhabitants of Salem caused frequent conflicts with the town. In 1755, the town declared it forfeited and turned it over to other proprietors, but they did not do much better and it finally became town property in 1789. Then the peninsula was finally connected to its North Fields as well as to its South Fields and to the Middle Precinct. It was still to be many years before the Beverly Ferry was supplanted by a bridge.

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[1] J. W. Hanson: *History of Danvers*, 50–54.

[2] Felt, 1st, 445; *Salem Register*, Nov. 2, 1829.

[3] *Curwen MSS.*, E.I.H.C., LVIII, 292.

A small bridge within the limits of the town proper had been built in 1726. This was 'near the stepping stones where it has been usual to go over the Creek in South River.' This must have been about in front of the post-office and cut off the basin near the corner of Summer and Norman Streets where ships had been built, so had to have a draw with thirty feet passage under it! This was probably usable only at high tide. The channel was not filled in till 1821.[1]

Thus a picture of the town would show one long street pretty well bordered with houses from Buffum's corner to the Neck Gate, with one principal cross-street running from river to river with the principal wharves and warehouses along the South River from Norman Street down, but a new group of wharves and warehouses growing up along the causeway which led to the North Bridge. Other separate groups of houses would be seen near the foot of Turner Street and again near Winter Island. The churches with their spires and belfries dominated the town, but the forest of masts in both rivers was by no means an inconspicuous feature in the landscape.

[1] Felt, 2d, 1, 305.

CHAPTER XV

SOCIAL LIFE IN THE MIDDLE OF THE CENTURY

By 1750 three generations of men had passed away since the town was founded and there had been inevitably a change in the population. The Yankee people were then by no means the pure English race culled from the Puritan stock of the eastern counties of England that they had been a century before.

From the very beginning Salem had had close contacts with the Channel Islands and strong sympathy with the Protestant French. After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, which drove so many of the best people from France, New England considered it a duty to receive them. A great many of these Huguenots, who were sober, industrious artisans, found their way to America and settled in Massachusetts. Salem, being a seacoast town, had her share and rather more. These names can be identified in many cases, but in many more they have been Anglicized beyond recognition or translated to simplify social contacts. However, probably more French blood was added to the Salem population than any other before 1750.

The migration from the north of Ireland was probably the next most important contribution. Whole parishes came over under their ministers, and while they went *en masse* to New Hampshire and elsewhere, many individuals stayed in the coast towns when they landed or drifted back in the second generation. This infiltration had been going on for thirty years or so. A few persons had arrived during all the years from the south of Ireland, but chiefly as sailors or indentured servants. There were also a few

Scotch, some Dutch, and some German. All told there was a considerable mixture of blood.

Salem was a very law-abiding community. The few laws were strictly enforced. The device of enacting laws so that some legislator can point with pride to his efforts in behalf of some blatant group, when he and all sensible people know that such laws cannot be enforced and would create chaos if they were, had not been thought of then. The verbal inspiration of the Scriptures had been insisted on in every pulpit in New England for a hundred years or more, and this attention to exact wording was carried over into legal procedure and into trade. As a whole, Yankees were a truthful people, but their attention was to the exact wording of the truth rather than to the implication of their actions. When one presented a barrel of apples for sale which had been subjected to the process called 'deaconing,' [1] the following conversation might ensue:

Customer. That looks like a good barrel of apples.

Seller. They are good apples.

Customer. Are they all as large as those on top?

Seller. Well, now, I haven't measured each apple, but if you want to here's a horse blanket and you can dump the barrel all out and measure them, but mind, you've got to repack the barrel.

This perfect frankness disarmed the customer and he bought the barrel, to find them good, but not quite so good as the top layer. The Yankee would not have done this if half the barrel was rotten, as that would have given the customer fair ground for complaint. He had given no guaranty whatever and the customer had paid a good price for a fair barrel of apples. The Yankee was simply a better trader than the customer.

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[1] If any outlander does not know what this means, let us say it means that the best and largest apples have been selected for the top layer.

The severe discipline of the New England home bred strong self-control. The Yankee trader never gave himself away by a smile, a chuckle, or the twinkle of an eye. Whether he traded in London, Cadiz, Madeira, or Surinam, he was the better man and he made money thereby. David Harum's famous warranty of the balky horse, as 'safe and sound and kind and will stand without hitching,' shows the same meticulous accuracy of verbal statement.

At the same time the Yankee was strictly honest in money matters; he traded as shrewdly for goods consigned to him as for his own, and he accounted for every dollar received. The poor widow who turned over a dozen pairs of her hand-knitted stockings to a sea captain, to sell for her in Glasgow or Surinam, could be sure that he would drive as good a trade for her as he would for himself and would return to her the full proceeds less his small commission. The Yankee trader was faithful to his trust, whether or not there was any way of checking him up. This was one of the greatest characteristics of early Salem trade, and while, of course, there were lapses, they were few and far between.

Salem was always a friendly and sociable place. If a new family came to town, the ladies called on the newcomer and invited her to supper. When a child was born, the ladies all made the mother a 'sitting-up' visit as soon as she was able to sit up. In cases of serious illness, neighbors and friends took turns acting as night nurses so that the family could get some rest.[1] Under happier conditions the ladies took tea and gossiped together. In pleasant weather they went sailing down the harbor or went on picnics, but they did not call them picnics. They were 'frolics' or 'turtles.' The name 'turtle' probably originated from some party where a green turtle from the West

[1] See *Holyoke Diaries.*

Indies was served, but no doubt it came to cover good old codfish chowders as well as the real thing.

The men of the town were not without their diversions also, and no doubt spent many evenings together at the tavern. Among the manuscripts at the Essex Institute[1] there is an amusing constitution of a club started by five young bloods in February, 1744/5, which may have lasted to 1750, and at any rate is a picture of the times:

> *Rules of the Civil Society*
>
> We the subscribers, Members of the Civil Society, do agree to meet together at Mrs Pratts on Tuesday & Fryday — Evenings for the Preservation of Friendship & Conversation & do Consent & Agree to the following Rules — Vizt . . .
>
> 1. Every Member shall pay his Club. . . .
> 2. If any Member swears, or Curses, he shall pay for every such offence one shilling old Tenor towards the Reckoning. . . .
> 3. If any Member Quarrells or gives another the Lye in the Club he shall pay the Reckoning for the Evening. . . .
> 4. If any Member absents himself he shall be charged a Clubb except there be another Person that does not belong to the Club to take his Place. . . .
> 5. No Member shall bring any Person whatever into the Club without the Unanimous Consent of the Company. . . .
> 6. If any Dispute arises it shall be left to the Companys Determination. . . .
> 7. If any Person brings any other Person with him he shall answer for his Clubb. . . .
> 8. No new Member shall be taken into the Clubb without the Unanimous Consent of all the Members. . . .
>
> Daved Britton
> Fra: Cabot
> Salem Febry 21.th 1744/5. Timo: Orne Junr
> Joseph Cabot
> Will Pynchon

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[1] *Salem Miscellaneous MSS.*, I.

Evidently the members planned to be kept in order and prevent rude conduct, and no doubt spent many pleasant evenings together. The almost obsolete use of the word 'club'[1] to designate a proportionate share of the bill is interesting. The Civil Society was hardly started before it found scope for its activities. In July it started a subscription list to help the families of the soldiers who had gone to Louisburg. All the original members, except William Pynchon, and also Joshua Ward, Richard Derby, Thomas Davis, Nathaniel Ingersoll, James Jeffrey, and Thomas Lechmere, contributed five pounds apiece, which was duly expended for beef and bread for forty people.[2] Whether these subscribers had been elected to the Society we do not know. Also whether the Civil Society continued on into the organization of the Social Library of 1760 cannot be ascertained, but all the original members, except David Britton, subscribed to it, and two of them were principals in the movement.

This club just preceded a larger and more dignified one, organized about 1750, which was composed of the leading professional men of the town. Benjamin Lynde and Nathaniel Ropes, both members of the Supreme Court of the colony, William Browne, judge of the Superior Court, Andrew Oliver, judge of the Court of Common Pleas, the Reverend William McGilchrist, rector of Saint Peter's Church, the Reverend Thomas Barnard of the First Church, and Doctor Edward Augustus Holyoke, whose long life of service as a physician has made his name famous in Salem, were the members. They were the most cultivated men of the town and were distinguished in the whole colony. This club apparently discussed literary and philosophical subjects, but neither Judge Lynde nor the wife of Doctor Holyoke ever gives us any clue to its activities in their diaries.[1] Out of it grew the Social Library of 1760, which was the foundation of the Essex Institute.

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[1] *Pepys' Diary*. 1660. 'Met with Purser Washington with whom I dined at the Bell Tavern, but the rogue had no more manners than to invite me and to let me pay my club.'

1665. 'We dined merry: but my club & the rest come to 7/6$^{\underline{d}}$. which was too much.'

[2] *Salem MSS.*, printed in E.I.H.C., XXXI, 65.

On the lighter side of social life, things had become distinctly easier as the century progressed. As early as 1739, Charles Bradshaw taught French and was allowed to teach dancing also, 'so long as he kept good order.'[2] This was a great concession, and the young people learned to dance. By 1755, Lawrence D'Obleville, a Protestant Parisian, visited Salem, 'teaching children and youths to dance and good manners.'[3] By 1760 dances and assemblies were quite the order of the day, especially at Mr. Jeffrey's,[4] but as late as 1750 an act to prohibit stage players and theatrical entertainments was passed by the General Court.[5]

Weddings were as always a social event, but not so much of an occasion as is now made of them. They appear to have been home affairs, and all of them were performed by a justice of the peace. The bride was sometimes married at the home of her future husband if he happened to have one,[6] and it was not convenient to go elsewhere. If she was married at her own home, her husband simply came there to live till such time as they could establish a home of their own. There seems to be little mention of bridesmaids or formality. Traveling was far from being a pleasure in those days, and no mention is made of wedding trips. After the wedding there might be a little entertainment with a sack posset and some cake. Members of the family gave a few presents of a simple kind, perhaps a Bible or a psalm book. In the better families the bride had some new clothes and some linen for her home, perhaps, and there was some sort of marriage settlement. On the Sunday after the wedding, the bride was expected to walk to church if it was a fine day, dressed up in her best clothes, accompanied by her husband and her brother or some male relative, and allow herself to be admired by her friends and neighbors. This was called 'walking bride,' [1] and continued in Salem till about the time of the Civil War, for the present writer has often heard older people speak of it. It apparently began about 1700 and was the forerunner of the more elaborate church wedding parade.

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[1] *Holyoke Diaries*, 57, 60.

[2] *Town Records*.

[3] Felt, 2d, I, 505.

[4] *Holyoke Diaries*, 47, 48.

[5] Province Laws.

[6] James Jeffrey: *Journal*, Jan. 21, 1744; E.I.H.C., II, 66, Joshua Ward's Wedding.

Various amusements had crept into the severity of Puritan life. June 18, 1744, James Jeffrey entered in his diary, 'Fought cocks in the Town House,' which must have been a recent departure [2] and would certainly have scandalized Judge Sewall a generation earlier. The sponsors and all the spectators would undoubtedly have sojourned for a while down Prison Lane.

The costumes of the period were rich and elegant. Long coats and waistcoats of velvets and brocades richly trimmed and set off by lace neckerchiefs were worn by the men over satin breeches and silk hose. The opposition to wigs had passed away, and all gentlemen wore the largest of curled wigs. The ladies wore tightly drawn-in bodices of rich material with low necks, and their skirts, which reached to the ground, were full and fluffy. The Puritan severity of dress, if there ever was any, except under the Cromwellian influence, had passed away. Life was comfortable and easy. Wealth was ample and widely

[1] Samuel Gardner: *Diary*, E.I.H.C., XLIX, 14.

[2] E.I.H.C., II, 66.

distributed among the townspeople, who were willing to be industrious, considered work a blessing, and enjoyed their work.

Means of getting about were somewhat limited and seem to have consisted of chairs[1] (whatever they were) and chaises. In 1757, vehicles were taxed for the support of the linen industry and chaises paid three shillings while chairs paid two, so they must have been the less elegant vehicles. Thirty-five chairs were owned in town, but only eight chaises. The owners of the chaises were Benjamin Pickman, Epes Sargent, Francis Cabot, Miles Ward, Joseph Grafton, Samuel Barnard, Samuel Gardner, and Edward Marston, but the first five had arrived at the opulence of owning both.[2] It might be a fair assumption that Salem's social Four Hundred was about fifty, for surely one could not be in society without a chair, chaise, or coach.

The people of this seafaring town did not neglect the pleasures of the country. Quite early in the century (1718), the Honorable Benjamin Lynde acquired all the land at Castle Hill, which was then the conspicuous rocky eminence it remained till after 1900, when it was ground up for road material. The hill itself was almost entirely surrounded by water and had a lovely view of the town across the Mill Pond, still a large and beautiful sheet of water. There was much arable land, particularly on the southerly side,[3] and Judge Lynde developed it as a farm and a summer residence. There was a house there in 1720, or else he was building one then,[4] but his son, the Honorable Benjamin Lynde, Jr., built a new one in 1748 of more ample proportions. In the early days many pleasant expeditions were made by boat across the Mill Pond,[1] but the Lyndes, both father and son, were busy men spending much time in court at Boston and at other points in the province, and made few records of their parties at Castle Hill. They had an arbor or summer house on the top of the hill from which they got an extensive view down the harbor.[2]

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[1] These chairs had wheels and were not sedan chairs carried by porters.

[2] *Salem MSS.*, in Essex Institute, Petitions and Lists.

[3] *Essex Antiquarian*, XII, 176.

[4] *Lynde Diaries*, 9.

In 1754 the Honorable Benjamin Pickman bought a large tract of land on what is now Loring Avenue and developed a beautiful estate which lasted down almost to the present time, though the house was replaced about a hundred years ago. There is still a picture of it as it was in 1773,[3] and Doctor Bentley in his diary often alludes to it as a show place. Both the Lynde and Pickman places were conspicuous not only for hospitality but for good farming and horticulture, and did much to increase interest in good gardening and fruit-raising.

The most famous of all the country places about Salem in the eighteenth century was the magnificent hall built by the Honorable William Browne on the high hill near the line between Salem and Beverly where the reservoir now is. It was a very interesting place, and William Browne christened it 'Browne Hall,' but the people called it 'Browne's Folly,' and while the name of Browne has passed away, the hill is still called 'Folly Hill,' though few people know why.

It was a stately mansion, with an avenue of elms[4] leading up the northern slope of the hill to a door in the middle of a space thirty-five feet wide, recessed between two wings each twenty-two feet wide and some forty-five feet long, though the middle portion was not so deep,[5] making the plan that of a letter H. A contemporary description of the house is as follows:

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[1] *Lynde Diaries*, 12, 31. [2] *Ibid.*, 15. [3] Dow: *Pickman Diaries*, 64.

[4] One or two of these trees still stand (1936).

[5] Robert Rantoul: *Stately Pleasure House*, E.I.H.C., XXXI, 212.

> October 19th. Arived at Salem abt 3 a Clock put up our Horses at the Wido Prats from whence went to See Colll. William Browne where drank Tea with his Spouse, after which Mr Browne was so Good as to Accomodate us with a walk round the Towne Shewing us the wharfs warehouses &c. went up in the Steeple of the Church from whence had a Fine View of the Town Harbor &c. which is Beautyfully Situated From which have a View of Mr. Brownes Country Seat which is Situated on a Heigh Hill abt 6 Miles Eastward of Salem. Spent the Evening at his House where Joynd in Company by Parson Appleton [1] and Miss Hetty his daughter from Cambridge they Being Acquaintence of Mr. and Mrs. Browne we Supd togeather and after that where Very merry, at Whist &c.
>
> October 20th. Lodg'd at Mr. Brownes after Breakfast Saunterd round the Towne mayking Our Observations on the Builds &c Dynd at his House after Dinner had a Good Deal Conversation with him upon Various Subjects he being a Gentn of Excellent Parts well Adversed in Leaturate a Good Scholar a Great Vertuosa and Lover of the Liberal Arts and Sciences haveing an Extroardenary Library of Books of the Best Ancient and Modern Authors about 3 a Clock we Sett out in his Coach for his Country Seat rideing trough a Pleasant Country and fine Rhoads we arived there at 4 a Clock the Situation is very Airy Being upon a Heigh Hill which Over Looks the Country all Round and affords a Pleasant Rural Prospect of a Fine Country with fine woods and Lawns with Brooks water running trough them you have also a Prospect of the Sea on one Part and On another a Mountain 80 miles distant The House is Built in the Form of a Long Square, with Wings at each End and is about 80 Foot Long, in the middle is a Grand Hall Surrounded above by a Fine Gallery with Neat turned Bannester and the Cealing of the Hall Representing a Large doom Designed for an Assembly or Ball Room, the Gallery for the Musicians &c. the Building has Four Doors

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[1] The Reverend Nathaniel Appleton, D.D.

> Fronting the N.E.S. & W. Standing in the middle the Great Hall you have a Full View of the Country from the Four Dores at the Ends of the Buildings is 2 upper and 2 Lower Rooms with neat Stair Cases Leading to them in One the Lower Rooms is his Library and Studdy well Stockd with a Noble Colection of Books, the others are all unfurnish'd as yet.[1]

In 1733, William Browne had married in New York Mary Burnet, daughter of the late governor of Massachusetts, with whose family he must have been well acquainted when the governor held the General Court in Salem. Mary Burnet was not fifteen years old when he brought her to Salem in May, 1738.[2] Soon after that, William Browne built the hall for his young wife, whom he adored, but they did not long enjoy it, for Mary died in 1745 at the age of twenty-two, leaving four sons and two daughters.[3] The hall was seriously damaged by the earthquake of 1755, and in 1761, two years before his death, the owner moved it down the hill. Finally part of it became a portion of the old Berry Tavern in Danvers till it was burned in 1845.[4]

As for William Browne himself there is a choice of two opinions about him. Doctor Alexander Hamilton, a Scotsman who traveled through New England in 1744 and perhaps reflects his own dour Scotch temperament, writes:

> This gentleman has a fine estate, but withal has the character of being narrow and avaricious, a vice uncommon to young men. He has a strange taste for theological controversy. While we were there the conversation turned chiefly upon nice metaphysical distinctions relating to original sin, imputed righteousness, reprobation, effectual

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[1] Captain Francis Goelet: *Voyages and Travels,* quoted in Dow: *Two Centuries of Travel,* 74.

[2] *Lynde Diaries,* 152.

[3] Ezra Hinds: *Browne Hill,* E.I.H.C., xxxii, 218.

[4] *Ibid.,* 222–25.

> calling, and absolute decrees, which stuff — as I esteem it to be no more than the monstrous and deformed offspring of scholastic, theological heads — I should choose to hear at no other times but when I took a cathartic or emetic, in order to promote the operation of it proved too sluggish.[1]

On the other hand, Captain Francis Goelet, a merchant of New York and a man of the world, reports quite a different picture:

> we drank a Glass wine haveing Feasted our Eyes with the Prospect of the Country Returned to his House where Sup'd and Past the Evening Vastly Agreeable being a Very mery Facitious Gentlemen, went to bed Intend^g to Proceed to Marble head Next Morning.

Although these glimpses of the life in the city are but fragmentary, together they give us a picture of a pleasant social little town where everybody knew everybody else, where there were men of education and wealth, but where wealth did not cause a gulf between men. They lived well and ate well and drank well. There were good houses and good clothes. The poor were not degraded and the rich were not proud, and all, both rich and poor, had ideals which led them toward the finer things of life.

[1] Dr. Alexander Hamilton: *Itinerarium*, quoted in Dow: *Two Centuries of Travel*, 67.

CHAPTER XVI

FIRES, FIRE CLUBS AND FIRE ENGINES

A MORE useful if less delightful form of organization than the social clubs were the very useful fire clubs. From the very beginning of the town, precautions had been taken against fire [1] by requiring all citizens to keep ladders with which to get on their roofs in case of chimney fires. Later, hooks, ladders, and cedar buckets were provided at the town's expense,[2] but there had been no definite organization for fire-fighting even after the great fire of 1698. The selectmen were supposed to organize the crowd that turned out into two lines that handed the buckets filled at the nearest well along to the scene of the fire, and then passed the empty pails back to the well.

In 1744, the first fire club, which later came to be known as 'The Old Fire Club,' was organized, and continued for many years. It had a somewhat elaborate set of rules, most of which described the method of organization, officers, meetings, and elections, but the rules dealing with its activities are interesting and show what the club really was. They are as follows: [3]

> 2 Each of us will keep Constantly in good order in some place in our Respective dwellings tow Leather or Cedar Buckets with a bar a cross & painted in which shall be one bag tow yards in length & three Quarters of a yard in breadth both buckets and bag shall be Marked with y^e^ first letter of y^e^ owners Christian name & w^th^ his Sirname atlength Under penalty of Ten Shillings Old Tennor....
>
> 3 At notice of fire we will Imediately repair with our buckets & bag to y^e^ dwelling house warehouse or shop of

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[1] *Town Records*, March 25, 1644.

[2] *Ibid.*, Aug. 13, 1679.

[3] *Salem Miscel. MSS.*, 1, Essex Institute.

> any Member of this Society most in danger & Use our best Endeavours (by his directions if present) to Remoue & secure all his goods Under Penalty of what y^{e} Comp^{a} shall think fit to Determine.
>
> 4 For y^{e} better regulating y^{e} affairs of y^{e} affairs of y^{e} Society & encouragement of good Fellowship we will Constantly meet at seven o'Clock in y^{e} evening on the first Wednesday of march June & September & at six. oClock in y^{e} evening on y^{e} First wednesday in December at such place as shall be agreed on From Time to Time by y^{e} Company Under Penalty of five shillings....
>
> 7 We will have a Watch word Whereby to know one Another. which shall Continue till y^{e} Society see Cause to change it & every Member shall whisper it to y^{e} Clark at every quarterly Meeting & to any other Member at any Time when challenged. Under penalty of one Shilling....
>
> 8 If any member of y^{e} Society shall loose his bucketts or bag in Time of fire his loss shall be repaired by y^{e} Society provided he shall make report of it to y^{e} Clark within a week after it happens....

These articles detail a useful organization, but the cause of good-fellowship, it will be noticed, was not forgotten, as the club had three meetings a year. During the twenty years in the middle of the century some fifty-three men joined this club, though not more than twenty-five belonged at any one time. It included almost all the best people in town, and, as we have a list of those who joined before 1766, it is worth while to see who they were:

Thomas Lee
Ebenezer Bowditch
Stephen Higginson
Henry bittes
William Lynde
Samuel Gardner
William Browne
Mitchel Sewel
Joseph Bowdich
Thorndik Procter Jun^{r}
Ahijah Estes,
Joseph Rop^{s}
Joseph Grafton
Abraham Watson
Abel Gardner
Nath Ingersol
John Woode
Benj^{a} Goodhue
Thomas Mason
A: Oliver Jnr
Geo: Williams
B: Pickman Jn^{r}
Dan^{ll} Mackey
W^{m} Vans
John Nutting Jn^{r}
Sam^{ll} Barton Jun^{r}
George Dodge

John Clark
Joshua Hicks
Jonathan Gardner
John Cabbot
John Crowninshield
Johna Ward
Nathaniel Archer
Samuel Manning
Benjamin Gerrish Jun^{r}
John Yong
Benjamin Grey
Ephraim Ingalls
Tim^{o} Lindall Jun^{r}
John Turner
Rich^{d} Lechmere
W^{m} Eppes
John Higginson
Edmon Whittemore
E A Holyoke
Will^{m} Browne
Joseph Blaney
Daniel Ropes
Rich^{d} Lee
David Phippen
Dudley Woodbridge
W^{m} Hunt Jun^{r}

This list seems to contain most of the names we should expect to find there except the Curwens, Derbys, and Endecotts, but, of course, it covered chiefly the center of the town.

The organization of this club followed very promptly on the organization of a similar club in Philadelphia some seven years before, at the suggestion of Benjamin Franklin.[1] That club also had about thirty members and similar rules of organization and equipment.

After the great fire of 1698, when all the houses on both sides of Essex Street, near the corner of Essex and Liberty Streets, had been burned, the town was comparatively immune from fires till the great fire of 1774, when Doctor Whitaker's meeting-house and about twenty-five other large buildings were burned; but in a town constructed entirely of wood with inflammable shingle roofs, the danger of fire could not be overlooked, and the fire club was a good move toward protection. In the same year the General Court authorized towns to appoint fire wardens to take charge in case of fires and direct the citizens in the work of extinguishing them.

For a long time the town had owned a lot of fire buckets, and it seems likely that wooden pails were used earlier than the leather buckets which we usually associate with

[1] *Autobiography*, Franklin's *Works*, Sparks ed., vol. 1, 134.

the earliest fire-fighting apparatus. In 1730, Salem had added twenty-four new buckets, probably wooden, as they cost only two shillings each,[1] to its previous supply of twenty-four and two leather ones.[2] The bucket brigade was by no means put out of existence by the fire engines that were soon to be introduced, for the first engines, like the Union, were merely machines for throwing the water effectively onto the fire from a tub in the base, which had to be constantly filled by the buckets passed from hand to hand from the source of supply. The pumps, in short, were merely to eject streams under pressure in the desired direction; they were not suction pumps.

The first engine of this sort was bought by Richard Derby and others, in 1749. The Union Fire Club had been started, March 14, 1748.[3] At the Town Meeting, March 20, 1749,[4] the men of this group were granted leave to buy an engine and be a company to run it. They were excused from serving in any town office and their sons might succeed them as members. This engine is still in existence and may be seen in the Essex Institute today. While not the first in America, as Boston probably had one nearly a century earlier, it is probably the earliest engine used in America still in existence. Why it was christened the 'Union' is not clear, but it seems to suggest a movement in the body politic just about to begin.

Not to be outdone by Captain Derby, the Honorable Benjamin Lynde and a group of his friends bought a larger engine in 1751, similar to that of the previous company, and presented it to the town.[5] This was known as the 'Great Engine,' in distinction from the little 'Union' which had preceded it. The engine-men were now excused from jury duty, and five fire wardens were appointed, as authorized by the General Court.

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[1] *Town Records*, Feb. 2, 1729–30.

[2] E.I.H.C., II, 104.

[3] *Salem MSS.* in Essex Institute.

[4] *Town Records.*

[5] *Town Records*, March 4, 1751.

A few years later, Benjamin Pickman, at the request of the town, bought a fine new engine in London for £73-4-4, which was ordered kept near the Town House.[1] His son, Clark Gayton Pickman, and fifteen other young men were approved as an engine company. Thus, three of the most prominent families in the city were all attached to the fire department in important capacities.

In 1770, yet another fire club, unattached to any engine, was formed of important citizens, though perhaps not so prominent socially as those of the earlier companies, and Salem was equipped with three engines and their companies and two independent fire companies. While the independent companies were for mutual protection, it seems unlikely that they would have withheld their services from any householder whose property was endangered.

In the year 1774, just previous to the great fire, a third fire club, known as the Social Fire Club, was formed. All of the engines were still of the old type which required to be filled with buckets, so the organization of the fire clubs was essential to make the engines effective, though there had been a movement to build cisterns in various parts of the town to conserve a water supply and one had actually been built in School (now Washington) Street a year or two before. Houses had also been built for the engines, one near the Court House and one up, and another down, Essex Street.

All the preparations did not stop the disastrous fire of October 6, 1774, which, in addition to Doctor Whitaker's church, burned many dwellings and other buildings, with

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[1] *Town Records*, Nov. 23, 1767.

Samuel Hall's printing office where the *Essex Gazette* was printed. Ezekiel Russell, of the competing *Salem Gazette*, issued a broadside of particulars of the fire which supplies a good account of it.[1]

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[1] Tapley: *Salem Imprints*, 39.

CHAPTER XVII

THE LAST FRENCH WAR — YEARS OF DEFEAT

1755–1757

THE war begun in 1755 was destined to be the last French war that was to occur in America. It was also to be rather a continental than a New England war. The French forts ran all the way from Louisburg on the north to Fort Duquesne and New Orleans on the south. It began in 1755 in America before war was really declared in Europe, and it ended here largely with the capture of Montreal in 1760, though peace was not agreed upon till 1763. This war is especially interesting because most of the generals of the American Revolution and many of the soldiers learned the art of war in these campaigns.

It was also very different from any war that preceded it in that French and, after the first year, British regular troops from England were employed in considerable numbers, while French and British generals were in command of the more important expeditions. Two regiments of colonial troops were enlisted in Massachusetts as regular British troops and were commanded respectively by Sir William Pepperrell and Governor Shirley, who held commissions in the British army. The companies of Rangers were also attached later to the British establishment, though made up almost entirely of colonial hunters and woodsmen and commanded by Robert Rogers, John Stark, Israel Putnam, and other colonials. More than half the troops, however, were levies for a year's service and usually for a particular expedition.[1] The majority of these levies were raised by the payment of bounties and other inducements, but some were drawn by lot from the militia and obliged to serve. Most of the officers were militia officers who felt it their duty to do their part.

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[1] Hutchinson, III, 66.

While Massachusetts was still interested in the suppression of the French to the eastward, the fact that Great Britain now held Nova Scotia gave the fishing fleet a secure base at Halifax. This rendered Louisburg less of a menace than formerly and placed the eastern Indians between two fires. The frontier had been harried, however, by expeditions fitted out, or encouraged, from Montreal, and the colonies viewed with terror the establishment of advanced bases on Lake Champlain and the possible building of others on the headwaters of the Connecticut[1] and the Kennebec.[2] The Salem people were far more anxious to see the French driven back from Crown Point and prevented from establishing a strong post at Ticonderoga than in any operations to cut the long, thin line of communications from Montreal westward. Only a few farsighted men, like Governor Shirley, realized that, with Lake Ontario strongly held by the English and the Indian trade diverted, the main interest of the French in Canada would be taken away.

The hostilities opened with a plea from Governor Lawrence of Nova Scotia. There were very few English settlers in Nova Scotia, but the French were numerous. A strong fort had recently been built by them near the head of the Bay of Fundy, just over the French line, from which French priests and officers watched the doings of the French peasants at Grand Pré and elsewhere in English territory to see that their loyalty to France was kept alive under the pretense of neutrality. It is not part of this narrative to consider the rights of this question,[1] but, at any rate, Governor Shirley of Massachusetts responded to Governor Lawrence's appeal with two thousand provincial troops. They were gathered from every corner of Massachusetts, and Salem sent her share.

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[1] Penhallow: *Indian Wars*, 31–33.

[2] *Mass. Records*, II, 327.

Deacon Timothy Pickering, who was always a bit of a stormy petrel in town meeting, created a stir by getting an article into the warrant for the meeting March 10, 1755, as follows:

> To consider the remonstrance of Deacon Timothy Pickering and others setting forth that Negro Indian & Molatto men servants are not required by law [i.e., to do military service] while other servants less profitable are obliged to attend such duty and therefore desiring to know if the town will consider the same and give direction to the Representative to use his utmost endeavors at the General Court that negros may be obliged by law to do some other equivalent service by working at Highways etc. Also if the town are desirous that the act for taxing Negroes, etc. as personal estate may be repealed and a poll tax laid on them and also the mind of the town respecting the importation of slaves and that directions may be given to the Representative accordingly.

This caused a great debate and it was finally

> voted by a considerable number that Deacon Pickering be impowered at the charge of the town to make application on their behalf to the great and General Court for the purposes mentioned in said Remonstrance.

Many persons, however, dissented and Mr. Samuel Gardner and Mr. Nathaniel Ropes desired to have their dissent recorded.[2] What, if any, results came from Deacon

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[1] See Parkman: *Montcalm and Wolfe*, I, 266–86; Bancroft: *History of the United States;* Palfrey: *History of New England*, V, 130–38.

[2] *Town Records.*

Pickering's plan is not apparent, but this question definitely challenged the status of negro slaves in the community and is interesting from that point of view.

Though the men were mustered early in April, 1755, for the Nova Scotia expedition, the muskets did not arrive from England till late in May. Forty sloops and schooners, escorted by three small frigates, took the men to the head of the Bay of Fundy, near the French fort of Beauséjour.[1] Within a month they captured not only that, but Fort Gaspereau on the other side of the isthmus, and the fleet captured the fort at St. John. The English were completely victorious, but the situation was not a pleasant one. There were many thousands of French, neutrals so called but actually decidedly hostile, and they outnumbered the English even including the army. Right or wrong, it was decided to round them up and scatter them through the English colonies from Massachusetts to Georgia. Their houses and barns were burned, and they and their movable belongings were shipped with no more brutality than the confusion of such an affair was bound to produce. Some six or seven thousand were thus transferred. It was an unhappy episode, at best, but, before judging too harshly, put yourself in the position of an English colonist in Annapolis and consider how you would have felt about it at that time, remembering that the pacifism of the Acadians has been sentimentally exaggerated.[2]

In any event, about a thousand Acadians were landed in Massachusetts and the General Court made some provision for their care, but mostly they were handed to the towns to take care of.[1] Salem first got twelve orderly persons who were willing to work, and later received some twenty intractable fishermen from Cape Sable. The overseers of the poor were afraid they would run off with a fishing vessel and petitioned that they be removed to an interior town, and they were ordered removed to Hopkinton, Southborough, and Tewkesbury.[2] Marblehead cheerfully housed its undesirables down near the Salem Ferry on Salem Harbor, and wanted them transferred because they might steal either a Salem or Marblehead vessel, but the former seems far more likely.[3] In 1757 or 1758, over two hundred of the Acadians were landed in the towns of Essex County.[4] It is clear that the French were distasteful to the colonists as foreigners, papists, and idolaters, while the French hated the English as heretics as well as masters. A few became amalgamated with the population, but most of them drifted back to Canada after the war.

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[1] This has now been taken over by the Canadian Government as Fort Beauséjour National Park and an interesting museum erected (1937).

[2] Longfellow, Hawthorne, Whittier, and other New England writers of the nineteenth century devoted so much time to condemning the acts of their ancestors that many writers of the twentieth century accept their fiction as fact.

Massachusetts also took the leading share in the expedition against Crown Point in the same summer as the Nova Scotia expedition. Governor Shirley appointed William Johnson of New York, the friend of the Five Nations, as commander-in-chief to unite the other New England colonies, who together contributed about the same number of men as Massachusetts. Colonel Moses Titcomb of Newbury was there, and Colonel Ichabod Plaisted of Salem with his regiment joined soon after the great fight of September 8, 1755.

These Crown Point men seem to have been mustered early in June, for there is a petition filed by Benjamin

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[1] Dow: *French Acadians in Essex County*, E.I.H.C., XLV, 293.

[2] *Mass. Archives*, XXIII, 313.

[3] *Ibid.*, 226.

[4] *Ibid.*, 24: 367.

Pickman[1] for their billeting after they were mustered which gives some light on costs of meals in the city and the methods of enlistment.

> To The Hon^{bl} Spencer Phipps Esq^{r} Lw^{t} Gov
> The Hon^{o} His majestys Council & y^{e} Hon^{o} House of Representatives —
>
> The Memorial of Benj Pickman Humbly Sheweth Thatt in Sep^{t} Last when this Goverm^{t} ordered a Reinforcement of y^{e} Troops att Lake George Col^{o} Ichabod Plaisted was appointed Col^{o} of one y^{e} Reg^{ts} and y^{e} Time being Short from their Inlisting to the time of Their March he ordred some Destined to his Regim^{t} that Lived att Great Disstance from him to be Billeted att Salem where they were ordred to appear to be Viewed p y^{e} muster Master whereby a Charge arose which Remains still unpaid to y^{e} Damage of those persons who Billeted them wherefore your Memorialist prays that your Hon^{rs} would Take the premise into your wise Consideration and act thereon as to Justice appertains & your Memorial I as in duty Bound Shall Ever pray
>
> BENJ PICKMAN
>
> Salem Jun 5 1756
>
> In the House of Rep^{s} June 10. 1756
> Read and Ordered That the Prayer of this Petition be granted, And That there be allowed and paid out of the Public Treasury, to Benjamin Pickman Esq^{r} for the use of Margaret Pratt Four pounds Eight Shill^{s} & eight pence, for the Use of Mary Bell four Pounds sixteen Shill^{s} & eight pence, for the use of Mary Henderson three Shillings & one peny, and for the use of John Lander thirty seven Shillings and four pence, in full discharge of the several Acco^{ts} exhibited, amounting in the whole to y^{e} Sum of Eleven Pounds five Shill^{s} and nine pence. —
> Sent up for Concurrence
>
> T. HUBBARD Spk^{r}
>
> In Council June 10, 1756 Rcd & Concur'd
>
> THO^{s} CLARKE Dp^{ty} Sury
>
> Consented to PHIPS

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[1] *Mass. Archives*, LXXV, 645.

The bill of Mrs. Pratt, who kept the Sun Tavern, with the men's names, accompanies the petition, which shows that her bill of £4–8–8 covered fifty-eight dinners at eightpence, one hundred and eighty-two breakfasts at fourpence, and sixteen suppers at fourpence. Who would now volunteer to feed a lot of healthy soldiers two hundred and fifty-six meals for less than twenty-five dollars, with a lot of lodging thrown in? Presumably Mary Bell and the others came in strong on the dinners and suppers.

At the Salem town meeting, on September 12, 1755, the question came up and £158 was appropriated on petition of John Turner, Esq., and others not mentioned, 'in as much as about twenty eight of the inhabitants of said town are ordered to be inlisted or imprest for the reinforcement of the expedition against Crown Point and it is probable that the Persons so inlisted or Imprest will be of the poorer sort.' This would seem to indicate that the people rose rather slowly to the exigencies of war, and that enlistments had come in slowly.

On October 6, 1755, in a certificate dated Marblehead, the muster master certified to 124 'effective men and their firearms strong and substantial and fit for service,' so the Salem company was of some strength when it did go.[1] On September 24, Colonel Plaisted left Salem to take his command to Crown Point.[2] Colonel Plaisted was on his way home at the time his wife died in December.[3]

On September 8, the French commander, Baron Dieskau, had attempted to cut the communications between the camp on Lake George and Fort Edward,[4] but was defeated with heavy loss and was himself wounded and captured, but the provincial troops lost both Colonel Titcomb and Colonel Williams [1] killed and two hundred and sixty more killed, wounded, or missing. A list of twenty-six men wounded in Colonel Titcomb's regiment, most of them from Essex County, is in the Perley Putnam manuscripts at the Essex Institute.[2] This battle of Lake George was the greatest battle so far fought on American soil, except perhaps Braddock's defeat, which occurred two months earlier. Johnson did not follow up his victory, so what was left of the French force retired and built Fort Carillon, or Ticonderoga, on Lake Champlain, while Johnson built Fort William Henry on Lake George. Shirley had led a fruitless expedition to Oswego during the summer, but failed to cross to Fort Frontenac on the north side of Lake Ontario, so really accomplished nothing. The men of his expedition were largely Massachusetts men in the so-called Pepperrell and Shirley regiments enlisted as regular British troops. The results of the year 1755, therefore, outside of the conquest of Nova Scotia, were largely negative.

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[1] *Mass. Archives*, in E.I.H.C., XXIX, 170.

[2] *E. A. Holyoke Diary*, quoted in Felt, 1st, 447; not in printed diary.

[3] *Lynde Diaries*, 180.

[4] *Review of Military Operations, 1753–56*, 2 M.H.S.C., VII, 107.

The year 1756 opened with new attempts against the French on Lake Champlain. Massachusetts voted to raise thirty-five hundred men, and General Winslow was recalled from Nova Scotia to take command.[3] Colonel Plaisted's Salem regiment was designated for the expedition and he and his officers all enlisted February 18. James Frye was lieutenant-colonel.[4] Colonel Plaisted, in accordance with the military formation of the day, was also captain of the first company. There were probably other Salem companies and one or two each from Danvers, Beverly, and Lynn. There was also one from Reading, commanded by William Flint,[1] which mustered on May 7. The Salem men listened to a sermon by Doctor Barnard and then marched off for Boston on May 7, where the troops were probably gathered. Colonel Plaisted himself left for the front May 17.[2]

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[1] A legacy left by Colonel Williams was the beginning of Williams College.

[2] E.I.H.C., LVIII, 176.

[3] Palfrey, V, 144, 145.

[4] *Mass. Archives*, in E.I.H.C., XXIX, 169, 172.

Benjamin Pickman and others did not like the idea of a draft, and at the May 17, 1756, town meeting they filed a petition that the overseers of the poor should look after the impressed soldiers and their families. They also wanted to have the General Court pass a law authorizing the hiring of as many men as might be impressed, and definitely voted that the chief officer of each military body be empowered to hire as many men as he was ordered to impress, and draw on the treasurer for the money.

All summer long the troops lay along the line from Albany to Fort William Henry, on Lake George, while the Earl of Loudon, who had been sent from England as commander-in-chief, could not make up his mind to attack Montcalm, who, after his return from the capture of Oswego, lay at Ticonderoga with half as many men as Loudon had.[3]

Whatever glory the British and colonial arms won that year around Lake George certainly belongs to the companies of Rangers who watched the French around Crown Point and reported their every movement. Major Rogers and his men were out during the intense cold of January and February over the ice and through the woods on snowshoes. In March, Rogers returned to Boston to enlist a new company of 'none but such as were used to traveling and hunting,' and of which his brother was the first lieutenant and John Stark the second. With a part of the company, Rogers was ordered to Fort Number Four at Charlestown, New Hampshire, on the Connecticut River, while his brother took the rest to Albany. From Number Four he crossed Vermont to Crown Point, observed the enemy, and made his way to Fort William Henry on Lake George. Every month of the year the Rangers under Rogers, Putnam, Stark, and others were scouring the woods and bringing in prisoners and information and interfering with the Indian scouts sent out by the French. They often went within a half-mile of the French forts and intercepted the supplies in the few miles between Crown Point and Montcalm's force at Ticonderoga. On one of the scouts in September, John Stacy of Salem was captured.[1] The Rangers traveled by canoes as well as by land, and one or two bitter engagements were fought with French parties in which the Rangers suffered severely and would have been cut off entirely except for the utmost courage and resourcefulness. Right on through the winter the work went on, and in January, one of the worst fights took place in which two hundred or more French and Indians tried to cut off a scouting party of seventy-four. Fourteen were killed and six captured, but the rest returned safely with six wounded.[2]

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[1] E.I.H.C., XXIX, 171.

[2] *Lynde Diaries*, 181.

[3] Parkman: *Montcalm and Wolfe*, I, 434.

If the year 1756 had been a disappointment, 1757 was a disaster. Lord Loudon decided to draw off the regular troops to Halifax for an expedition against Louisburg, while the provincial troops should be sent to hold Fort William Henry, Fort Edward, and the other frontier points till his return. He sailed in June from New York, but for various reasons never got beyond Halifax. In July, the efficient and active if sometimes irresponsible Governor Shirley was superseded by Governor Pownall. He had hardly had time to inquire into conditions when word came that Montcalm was besieging Fort William Henry.

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[1] Felt, 2d, II, 512.

[2] See Hough: *Journals of Major Robert Rogers;* Humphreys: *Essay on Israel Putnam; Reminiscences of the French War and Memoir of Major-General John Stark.*

Massachusetts had raised eighteen hundred men this year for the campaign,[1] and a good many Salem men had been enlisted. At the March 14, 1757, town meeting £108 was appropriated to encourage enlistments in lieu of those drafted, and the money was entrusted to Colonel Plaisted, but just how many this provided for is not clear, though perhaps four pounds a head is a fair guess. As early as May 20, Colonel Plaisted had notified Captain Daniel Epes, Jr., of the Salem troop, to be ready to move at a moment's notice.[2] Lieutenant-Colonel Frye of Andover was put in general charge of the Massachusetts troops and the region of Lake George was under the general command of Major-General Webb of the British army.[3] All winter Fort William Henry had been garrisoned by some Irish soldiers and the provincial Rangers, about three hundred and fifty men in all. In March, a French force had attacked them, but was easily beaten off. The real trouble came in August when Montcalm, who had assembled an army of six thousand French and Canadians and some sixteen hundred Indians, launched his attack from Fort Ticonderoga.

The fort at the head of Lake George was a reasonably strong earthwork with an entrenched camp adjacent. It was then held by Lieutenant-Colonel Munro, a Scotch veteran with twelve hundred men, and mounted seventeen cannon and a few mortars. General Webb was at Fort Edward, fourteen miles away, with twenty-six hundred men, mostly provincials, and about eight hundred more were on the line of communications back to Albany. In short, Loudon had so stripped this front to help his Louisburg expedition that Montcalm had almost double the available English force. Webb sent up to Fort William Henry two hundred regulars and eight hundred Massachusetts troops under Colonel Frye, but these were not enough to secure the fort and merely magnified the size of the disaster soon to follow.

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[1] Hutchinson, III, 52.

[2] Felt, 2d, II, 512.

[3] Hutchinson, III, 58.

While Webb sent off demands for reinforcements which could not possibly arrive in time, Montcalm surrounded and besieged the fort. His artillery got into position and the English artillery was silenced. Attack was succeeded by counter-attack, and the garrison did all that brave men could do. Three hundred were killed or wounded and smallpox was raging in the fort, so all available space was filled with sick. Colonel Munro did his best, but on August 8 Webb, fourteen miles away, heard the firing cease. Montcalm agreed to allow the garrison to march out with the honors of war to Fort Edward escorted by French troops, with the understanding that they should not serve again for eighteen months and all French prisoners captured since the war began should be returned in three months.

The Indians heard and assented to the terms, but the moment the garrison left the fort, they poured in looking for rum and loot. All the sick men in the hospital were butchered and, when the loot was exhausted, the Indians and more lawless Canadians pursued the now defenseless garrison to the entrenched camp. The English, with the considerable number of women and children, spent a night of terror, though it should be said that Montcalm and the

French officers and some of the better Canadians did what they could to restrain the Indians who prowled around the camp. No wonder the English, with their muskets but without any ammunition, desired to be gone before the French escort arrived. The wounded men of Frye's regiment had been turned over to the French surgeon, but at five o'clock in the morning the Indians rushed into the hospital and tomahawked and scalped them all. Finally, the French escort arrived and the march began, though the French officers advised the English to give up their baggage to appease the Indians. This only added to the excitement, however, and when the column got beyond the camp, the Indians crowded after it, snatching coats and caps and weapons and murdering those who resisted. Finally, a mob of so-called Abenaki Christian Indians rushed upon the New Hampshire soldiers at the rear of the column and murdered or dragged away some eighty of them. Montcalm, Lévis, and other French officers hastened from the camp and tried to stop the slaughter. The English fled to the Canadian advance guard for protection, but were told to take to the woods. Colonel Frye was stripped of all but breeches and shirt.[1] Men, stripped of everything, fled in wild confusion to the woods. One of the French officers said he saw at least forty or fifty corpses on the field. Six or seven hundred were maltreated or carried away, but Montcalm succeeded in getting about four hundred back to the camp and protected them, while a good many who had fled to the woods forced their way to Fort Edward. The Indians departed in a body next morning, taking with them some two hundred prisoners, whom Montcalm could not recover. A few days later, Montcalm sent the miserable remnant under a strong guard to Fort Edward while the French army retired to Lake Champlain. At least six Salem soldiers were carried away to Canada by the Indians and two or more were among the killed.[1] No doubt these were among the men whose enlistment had been encouraged in March by the appropriation at the town meeting of £108 to be expended by Colonel Plaisted.[2]

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[1] Frye: *Journal of Attack on Fort William Henry*, Aug. 10.

Webb's message caused consternation in Massachusetts. Sir William Pepperrell was commissioned Lieutenant-General of the militia and ordered to Springfield, on August 4, to collect provisions and stores, while the regiments of militia from Worcester and Hampshire Counties were started toward Albany. On August 10, when the news of the capitulation arrived, Colonel Plaisted was ordered to turn out one-fourth of the militia of Salem and the troop of horse under Daniel Epes, Jr., and march for Springfield, along with a quarter of all the fighting force of the colony except those in Dukes, Nantucket, and York Counties. At Springfield, Sir William was ordered to require all inhabitants west of the Connecticut River to destroy their wheel vehicles and drive their cattle across the river, as it was determined to make a stand on the east bank.[3] These orders were all revoked when it was learned that Montcalm had retired, but the colony was thoroughly aroused and alarmed, and its dislike of Lord Loudon and the British management was increased. The autumn saw no more activity, though Loudon, as soon as he returned, declared he would punish the French. Winter approached with discouragement at home and in the colonies, the armies were disbanded, and some regulars under Colonel Haviland and the New England Rangers stayed

[1] The captured were John Oakman, John Dawson, Peter Smith, Moses Atwood, John Knapp, and Jonathan Morrison. The latter was carried to Quebec and then to France and died there. (*Journal of House of Representatives.*) Richard Butman and Daniel Robertson were among the killed. (Felt, 2d, II, 512.)

[2] *Town Records*, March 14, 1757.

[3] Hutchinson, III, 59.

behind at Fort Edward in the bitter cold to range the forests and watch the enemy. Many of the original Rangers had died of wounds or smallpox at the siege of Fort William Henry, and the rest of those present there were disbanded on account of the capitulation, so the officers had to recruit new forces for the winter service. Loudon also sent forty regular soldiers to Major Rogers to be trained as Rangers, and later authorized the raising of four companies and one Indian company.[1] During the winter there was more than one hard fight, and in March, somewhere up in the hills near Fort Carillon, Rogers and some two hundred men barely escaped from a pitched battle with about six hundred French and Indians.[2] In some of this service Samuel Goldthwait of Salem died,[3] and no doubt other Salem men were in the service. Israel Putnam as well as Rogers commanded some of these scouting expeditions.

On a fly-leaf of Captain Richard Derby's ledger there is an interesting list that seems to apply to this campaign; it shows that some stout-hearted men meant to make good to the soldiers even if the king did not. A bounty of ten pounds had been promised for enlistments, and Richard Derby's list shows the persons who contributed to make good the money to the soldiers, and what they gave. As it indicates the comparative wealth (or at least generosity, for even in those days some people, who could afford to give, didn't) of some of the leading citizens, it is worth printing in full. It is notable that three of the clergy were included in the list. The names of the soldiers give as full a list of Salem soldiers as can be obtained.[4]

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[1] Hough: *Journals of Major Robert Rogers*, 78–81, 90, 91.

[2] *Ibid.*, 93–100.

[3] Felt, 1st, 452, quoting *Journal of the House of Representatives.*

[4] M. A. Stickney: *Massacre at Fort William Henry*, E.I.H.C., III, 83.

MONEY GATHERED FOR THE EXPEDITION TO CANADA, 1757

Benj. Pickman Esq.,	£30	James Dimon,	£ 8
Benj. L. Oliver,	30	Thomas Dowst,	8
Richard Derby,	30	Azoph Holbrook,	8
Stephen Higginson,	8	Wm. King,	5
Samuel Curwen,	8	Sam'l Herbert,	8
Francis Cabot,	10	Timothy Orne,	16
Samuel Barrot,	5	John Turner Esq.,	16
John Holten,	5	Geo. Crowninshield,	6
Wm. Epes,	10	Wm. Gilchrist,	5⅔
Ebenezer Pothard,	10	Daniel Mackey,	8
John Barton,	8⅓	Nath'l Gould,	3⅔
Ric'd Leechmore Esq.,	20	Eleazer Moses,	5
Sam'l Barton, Esq.,	20	Philip Saunders,	5
Wm. Vans	10	Dudley Leavitt,	5
Mrs. Hannah Cabot,	4	Joseph Grafton,	5
George Williams	14⅔	Timothy Lendell, Esq.	10
George Dodge,	7		

AN ACCOUNT OF MONEY PAID, AND TO WHOM

Capt. Goodhue's Company		*Capt. Plaisted's Company*	
Peter Stokey,	£10	John Swasays,	£10
Jacob Verry,	10	Robert Elliot,	10
David Morrill,	10	John Leaman, Jun'r,	10
David Phipen, Jun'r,	10	Edward Ross,	10
Barnabas Herrick,	10	(The above paid Coley.)	
James Gould,	10	*To Capt. Clark's Company*	
Thomas Symonds,	10	Thomas Kneedland,	10
Aphanis Seavy,	10	John Webb,	10
John Elkins,	10	Jo. Symonds,	10
John Baley,	10	John Osgood,	10
John Ward, Jun'r,	10	Samuel Merritt,	10
Eleazer Symonds,	10	Jos. Eborn,	10
Joseph Sands,	10	Capt. Clark for Jos. Silsbey,	10
John Collins,	10	John Dowrst,	10
Moses Townsend,	10		

To Capt. Pickman's Company, none mentioned.

It will be noted that none of those killed or captured are listed, so probably this money was paid to those who returned when they came back. Mr. Derby, who made the collection, had about thirty-seven pounds left over, so perhaps Captain Pickman's company got helped out also.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE LAST FRENCH WAR — YEARS OF VICTORY

1758–1761

The early years of the war had been years of great disappointment. Much treasure and many lives had been lost, with very small visible results. The best that could be said was that the futile efforts on Lake Champlain had tended to keep down the Indian raids along the frontier, as the Indians were largely employed in the French expeditions.

During the winter of 1757–58, one very great change for the better took place. The famous William Pitt came to the head of affairs in England, and his dynamic energy was soon felt in the most remote parts of the empire. General Jeffrey Amherst succeeded the incompetent Loudon, and while favoritism kept General Abercrombie, his second in command, at the head of affairs at Lake George, two young officers, General James Wolfe and Viscount Howe, appeared as next in command to the senior officers. A letter from Pitt stirred Massachusetts to action and the General Court immediately voted to raise seven thousand men for the next season.

This was the greatest military effort the colony had ever made,[1] and it would be thrilling if the Salem diarists could cease their methodical chronicling of the making of soap and cider and the birth and early death of unfortunate infants long enough to give us a picture of the thrills of the times, but they do not. The Salem Town Records might at least tell us how they raised their share of these troops, for raise them they certainly did, but

[1] Hutchinson, III, 69.

instead pages record the election of constables and hog reeves (who usually declined to serve even though fined), while all the allusion to the whole seven years of war could be listed in a dozen lines, and hardly worth reading at that. It is not unlike the lack of perspective of some more recent people, who spend so much energy calculating how they are going to feed bums that they forget they are leading a great nation of splendid people, who are worth feeding, to starvation.

Most of the men enlisted from the First Essex Regiment area seem to have been included in a regiment commanded by Colonel Jonathan Bagley.[1] Bagley seems to have been more of a professional soldier than the ordinary militia colonel. He commanded the garrison at Fort William Henry in the summer of 1756,[2] and he went to Louisburg in 1759. He did not come from Essex County, apparently, but the captains did. The enlistments from the towns were mixed. The company commanded by Andrew Fuller of Middleton, Isaac Hutchinson of Danvers, lieutenant, contained fifty-four Salem, Danvers, and Beverly men, not to mention eight men by the name of Holt from Andover out of ninety-six enlisted men.[3] Other companies contained other Salem groups.

The Reverend John Cleveland of Chebacco Parish was chaplain of this regiment and has left an excellent account of the expedition.[4] His journal for the first few pages is lost, and does not give an account of the trip across Massachusetts, but the chaplain of Colonel Williams's regiment, who preceded him by about a fortnight, gives an excellent one.[5] It took him from ten o'clock in the morning till

[1] Cleveland: *Journal*, E.I.H.C., XII, 94; Muster Rolls in *Mass. Archives*, E.I.H.C., XXIX, 173.

[2] Winslow's Letter to Halifax, 1 M.H.S.C., VI, 36.

[3] *Mass. Archives*, copied, E.I.H.C., XXIX, 174–76.

[4] E.I.H.C., XII, 92.

[5] Daniel Shute: *Journal*, E.I.H.C., XII, 133.

nine at night to ride from Boston to Worcester. Rain delayed him a day or two, but another long day took him to Cold Spring in Belchertown. Another short day's ride took him to Hatfield, where he caught up with his regiment. A full day's march ended at Pontoosuck, another at Guttridge's Fort, near Williamstown, and yet another, from 6.30 A.M. till 4 P.M., brought him to the Hudson River opposite Albany. Five and a half days from Boston to Albany is certainly not bad traveling on horseback, especially as 'the greater part of the way our troops marched from Hatfield to Greenbush [opposite Albany] is inexpressibly bad.' The regiment was, of course, slower, and apparently they were marched by companies. The food supplied west of the Connecticut River was very bad and many of the men got sick. It is evident that an improved short cut *via* Hatfield had superseded the earlier route through Springfield and Stockbridge.

The seven thousand Massachusetts men that had been raised for the campaign were all on the road, and evidently Colonel Bagley's regiment was close on the heels of Colonel Williams's men. They reached the point opposite Albany June 16, but there was smallpox in the city. Two days later, they were ordered to German Flats, up the Mohawk River. 'My regiment don't seem to be well pleased with our going to that point, but would rather have gone to Crown Point and Quebec,' remarks the worthy parson. They got only to Schenectady when they were ordered to Fort Edward.

Mr. Cleveland was a liberal and friendly soul, and we find him dining with Domine Vroom, the Dutch minister at Schenectady, as later he hobnobbed and feasted with the Church of England brethren. They pray with his men and he with theirs, but there is a slight note of satisfaction when he observes the presence of British regulars, officers and men, at his services. When they reached Lake George, the chaplains of the Massachusetts and Connecticut troops decided to call on General Abercrombie. 'He treated us very kindly and hoped that we would teach the people their duty and to be courageous,' says the parson. The kind treatment consisted of a bowl of punch and a bottle of wine. This happened on the Fourth of July!

The army was commanded by General Abercrombie, but its life and soul was Lord Howe, whom General Wolfe called the finest soldier in the British army. All was bustle and activity. Colonel Bagley's men reached Lake George on July 1. On July 5, the whole army moved down the lake in batteaux. It consisted of about nine thousand provincial troops and six or seven thousand regulars and Rangers in British service. They landed next morning below the narrows after a brief skirmish with the French and pushed on through the woods toward Ticonderoga. They stumbled upon a body of some three thousand French and Indians, and Colonel Bagley's men were ordered to the attack. A brisk engagement followed, and the French were driven back with heavy loss, while only twenty-four of Bagley's men were missing,[1] but Lord Howe was killed by the first volley. His loss was irreparable.[2] He was said to have been leading the advance with Israel Putnam and a body of Rangers. With his death the life went out of the expedition. Doctor Caleb Rea of Danvers remarks in his *Journal*: 'I can't but observe since Lord Howe's death Business seams a little Stagnant.' [3] Abercrombie attempted an ill-planned attack on Ticonderoga, but was beaten off with heavy loss, and the dejected army was withdrawn to Fort William Henry. Colonel Bagley's regiment lost six killed and two wounded, including Captain Whipple.[1] Lieutenant Archelaus Fuller, of the Middleton Company, gives a terse and vivid account of the battle, but it should be noted that all words are spelled phonetically.[2]

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[1] Cleveland: *Journal*, E.I.H.C., XII, 182.

[2] Well beloved alike by regulars and provincials, the Province of Massachusetts erected a monument to him in Westminster Abbey.

[3] Caleb Rea: *Journal*, E.I.H.C., XVIII, 103.

> Saterday y^e 8 very early in the morning we marched after the Regimint. came up with them whear we gained the army and now coms on the soreful acount thes onfortenat day Mag^r Rogers was ordered in furst Line then the prouenshuls was ordred in a line from Lake to Lake then the Regelars was to march threw we to open to the right and left in order for them to fors the Brest work we had ordered to keep our ground in order for a resarve fier But before the Reagelers came up the fier began very hot the Regalors hove down thair pak and fixed their bayarnits came up in order stod and fit very coragerly our men droed up very ner and was ordered to make a stand the fit came on very smart it held about eaght ours a sorefull Sit to behold the Ded men and wounded Lay on the ground hauing Som of them legs thir arms and other Lims broken others shot threw the body and very mortly wounded to hear thar cris and se thair bodis lay in blod and the earth trembel with the fier of the smal arms was a mornfull our as ever I saw we marched of the grownd before dark, down to the mils whear we went from in the Day down thair to rest but before day we saw the men marching we got up and loked round and found that the army was chefly gon we marched after the army came down to the landing befor Sonris pased by wouned men all the way I was very wek & outdon for want of ——

The provincial officers objected to the retreat and General Johnson earnestly tried to dissuade Abercrombie, but was himself ordered back to Lake George with his Indians.[3] The twenty-four cannon that should have been used to clear the way to Ticonderoga were ordered back to Fort Edward and the stores coming up from Albany were turned back on the road. 'Consummate Prudence!' sarcastically exclaims Chaplain Shute, who was at Schenectady with the Mohawk River expedition. 'If ye French should beat our army from ye Lake, ye cannon would help them make a vigorous stand at Fort Edward, and if obliged to abandon that, warlike stores would be necessary at Albany.'[1]

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[1] For a full account see Parkman: *Montcalm and Wolfe*, II, 96–120.

[2] E.I.H.C., XLVI, 214.

[3] Reverend Daniel Shute: *Journal*, E.I.H.C., XII, 137–38.

While Abercrombie was obliging his men to build entrenchments at Fort William Henry that Montcalm had no desire to attack, the French and Indians, by way of South Bay, fell on his line of communications on July 29 and Rogers and the Rangers were hurried off to block their retreat. Ten days later, Rogers and Israel Putnam had a fight with them near the site of old Fort Ann, and when the fight ended, Putnam was missing. He barely escaped death from the Indians and was sent a prisoner to Montreal.[2]

The summer wore away with fruitless scouting and alarms of Indian attacks. The camp got sickly and the men homesick. On July 28, as word had come of Wolfe's capture of Louisburg, the men were paraded while the chaplains offered up thanks to Almighty God. Twenty-one cannon were fired and then the infantry fired. 'The orders were that each man should fire instantly after his right hand man.'[3] This took twelve minutes to go around the seven thousand men the first time, but only a minute the second time, and half a minute the third. They ended up with three huzzas. In the same way they celebrated a few weeks later Lieutenant-Colonel Bradstreet's capture of Fort Frontenac, or Cattarackway, as Caleb Rea calls it,[1] but it was not like celebrating a victory of their own, and late in October they were ordered to march for home.[2] The great effort of the New England people ended with small results, owing to the death of Lord Howe and the incompetence of the other British officers.

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[1] Reverend Daniel Shute: *Journal*, E.I.H.C., XII, 138.

[2] William Cutter: *Life of Israel Putnam*, 97–102.

[3] Caleb Rea: *Journal*, E.I.H.C., XVIII, 185.

One little episode which was worth while does not seem to have been celebrated by the troops. In August, Governor Pownall learned from Nova Scotia that a force of French and Indians were contemplating a descent upon Saint George's Fort, near where Thomaston, Maine, now is. He quickly gathered together some men intended for the western campaign and embarked with stores and ammunition on the province ship *King George* and the sloop *Massachusetts*. He landed them at the fort and, the very next day, they helped to repel a vigorous attack which would otherwise have been successful.[3]

In 1759, the British government was inspired to make a renewed effort by the success at Louisburg, but Massachusetts had already made its supreme effort. Of the seven thousand soldiers, many had been killed or died of sickness. The regiments had cost the province and the towns nearly £180,000. They had to keep six hundred men to defend their frontier all the time, and after they had voted five thousand men they did not see how they could raise above fifteen hundred more.[4] March 27, 1759, Salem voted a bounty of four pounds per man to encourage men to enlist to make up the quota required before April 6 for the expedition to Canada.[5]

The men from Salem were apparently somewhat scattered in the provincial forces, but we have the journals of two men from Salem and Boxford whose adventures show the sort of work these soldiers had to do. On April 4, 1759, Gibson Clough of Salem enlisted for the campaign to invade Canada by sea and capture Quebec if possible. With other men he marched from Salem April 14, and, at one o'clock on the fifteenth, arrived at Castle William in Boston and, on the thirtieth, was attached to Colonel Bagley's regiment which was mustering at Point Shirley. On May 15, they sailed for Louisburg on the ship *Argyle*. Clough appears to have been in Captain Giddings's company. They reached Louisburg May 24, and that was as far as he was destined to get, though some Salem soldiers went to Quebec.[1] Louisburg was a busy spot. On May 31, five line-of-battle ships and fifteen other vessels came in;[2] on June 17, twenty-one ships arrived, and ships from Salem, Marblehead, and Boston were coming and going all the time. The daily dull routine of garrison work went on. News from Quebec dribbled down the river slowly and was not at first very encouraging. By July 31, Clough was pretty well discouraged.

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[1] Caleb Rea: *Journal*, E.I.H.C., XVIII, 190.

[2] Doctor Rea reached Danvers, November 10.

[3] G. R. Minot: *Continuation*, II, 40.

[4] Message to the Governor from the General Court.

[5] *Town Records*.

> I think we shall be unwise if we come here again to serve either King or Country [he wrote]. I think it very probable we shall be here another campaign and if so we shall be called old soldiers by that time as well as bad rogues and lazy fellows for that is said of all them who serve either King or Country now-a-days.

The news that Amherst had taken Ticonderoga and Crown Point cheered them up. They learned of General Johnson's capture of Fort Niagara. The end of September came, and with it cold weather, but yet no news of the capture of Quebec, and again Clough gets pessimistic:

> We shall stand in need of good Liquors for to keep up our spirits on cold winter's days and in being here within

[1] *Mass. Archives*, LXXIX, 735.

[2] E.I.H.C., III, 101.

> stone walls are not likely to get liquors or cloathes at this time of ye year and although we be Englishmen Born yet we are debarred Englishmen's liberty therefore we now see what it is to be under Martial Law and to be with ye regulars who are but little better than slaves to their officers: and when I get out of their power I shall take care how I get in again.

Here speaks the independent New Englander.

Next day came the news that Quebec was taken, though Wolfe was killed. This was hailed with rejoicing, but now the war was supposed to be over, and in true American style, everybody wanted to go home. Their enlistments expired October 31, and the next day the entire regiment refused duty, so they were all marched off to the guard-house, but our hero was released because he was a mason and working on the fort.[1] Some of the regiment got home, including the colonel; the rest stayed. Clough was among those who stayed, and his journal sadly ends on December 31, with these words:

> Cold and snow and now the year is done
> And who is better than when it first begun.[2]

Of the experiences of the men who joined General Amherst's expedition to Lake Champlain and Montreal, the journal of Lemuel Wood of Boxford gives a good idea. These troops were not taken to camps for training. It seems to have been assumed that they knew how to cook and camp, march and shoot, and apparently they did. They were born woodsmen, and the great out-of-doors held no terrors for them. They started from Boxford May 24, and marched at once through Tewkesbury, Bedford, Marlborough, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Leicester, Brookfield, and Brimfield to Springfield, where they passed muster before a 'helander' who was presumably an officer of one of the Highland regiments. This took a week. After a day in Springfield, they pushed on through Westfield, Blandford, and Tyringham to Stockbridge. Eight of them went to the tavern there and disposed of 'a gallon and a haf Point of wine and there we Lodged that Knight as merry as me Lord.' [1] They stayed a day or two, on account of rain, so Wood says, but one is inclined to suspect that inward moisture may have had its influence. Four days more brought them to Albany, nineteen days out from Boxford.

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[1] E.I.H.C., III, 105.

[2] *Ibid.*, 106.

After a few days at Albany, they took the old road *via* Half Moon, Stillwater, Saratoga, and Fort Edward to Lake George. These were days of hard work pushing forward supplies for the army. Three thousand regulars, as well as three or four thousand Connecticut troops and the Massachusetts regiments, were on the march. Five hundred carts and wagons were going and coming on the road with supplies and ammunition, not to mention the long train of artillery. Captain Bayley, perhaps of Essex, and thirty-five ship carpenters were drafted from Colonel Willard's regiment to which Wood belonged, to go forward to the lake to build batteaux.[2] They were within reach of the enemy and the long line of communications had to be guarded. Scouting parties watched the French at the north end of Lake George and guarded against surprises. It was June, and the mosquitoes and black flies must have been dreadful in the woods, but they are never once mentioned. Discipline seems to have been strictly maintained. A fellow who had stolen some arms from the wagon train got four hundred lashes. A deserter from 'ye Irish kiliny [Kilarney?] Regmt' was caught in Saratoga, brought up to camp, and shot. On the whole, the regulars seemed more mutinous than the provincials.

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[1] E.I.H.C., XIX, 66.

[2] *Ibid.*, 69.

On July 21, they all embarked and rowed down Lake George to the narrows, and next morning landed on both sides of the lake, near the outlet, without opposition, though Major Rogers and his Rangers, who always had the advance, had a brush with the French as they approached Ticonderoga. In the next few days they all pushed on toward the fort. General Amherst did not make the mistake of trying to take it without artillery. He got up his guns and commenced a bombardment. On the twenty-sixth, the French blew up their magazines and retreated to Crown Point by water and, before the end of the month, the Rangers discovered they had abandoned Crown Point also.

Wood never got beyond Ticonderoga, but he did get a chance to go into the fort and wrote a most excellent detailed description of it.[1] The men seemed to be engaged chiefly cutting timber with which to build boats for further progress up the lakes.[2] Expresses got through from General Wolfe at Quebec and others reported that General Johnson had captured Niagara. The Rangers scouted as far as St. John's at the north end of the lake and found the French were building a large vessel also.

Wood's *Journal* ends abruptly September 27, with the news that Wolfe was still before Quebec, but had not captured it. How and when he went home he does not record, but he must have returned in the late autumn, for he was in Andover ready to enlist again in April of the next year.[3]

The year 1759 closed with the first really definite progress of the war. Johnson had captured Niagara, Wolfe had taken Quebec, and Amherst had pushed the French back to the northernmost end of Lake Champlain. In short, French Canada had been reduced to the vicinity of Montreal, and the end was in sight.

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[1] *Journal*, E.I.H.C., xix, 165.

[2] *Ibid.*, 188.

[3] E.I.H.C., xx, 159.

It was in November that Major Rogers and his Rangers at last paid the long reckoning that had been accumulating for years against the Abenaki Indians, who lived at St. Francis, a few miles south of the St. Lawrence and midway between Quebec and Montreal. Rogers and his men went up Lake Champlain, hid their boats, and started overland. The French, the second day after, discovered the boats and started in pursuit. For ten days Rogers and his men pushed through spruce swamps and waded rivers, but they reached St. Francis. At daylight they attacked the village. The Indians, entirely surprised, put up a weak resistance. Two hundred were killed and twenty women and children captured, of whom all were released but five boys. The village was burned to the ground.[1] They found some six hundred scalps hanging in the wigwams and liberated five English captives. This tribe, which formerly lived in Maine, had been notoriously hostile to the English, and during the war had killed and carried away many hundred settlers,[2] not to mention their conduct at the massacre at Fort William Henry.[3]

With the French already on their trail, the Rangers could not retreat, so cut across to the Connecticut Valley about where Woodsville, New Hampshire, now stands, which they reached in eight days in a starving condition. They had divided into small parties at Lake Memphremagog because the French were following so closely, but less than twenty had been lost. Rogers and two companions of the first party built a raft, and six days later reached Fort Number Four at Charlestown, New Hampshire, from which canoe loads of provisions were at once sent to the starving men.

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[1] Thompson Maxwell, a member of this expedition, in his narrative gives a different picture; E.I.H.C., VII, 103.

[2] Rogers: *Journals:* Report to General Amherst, Nov. 5, 1759, and comments on the expedition.

[3] See p. 207.

Again, in 1760, Massachusetts was appealed to by the British government, and again she tried to raise the necessary men to carry on the war. She voted five thousand men, but actually mustered but thirty-three hundred.[1] There were, however, still seven hundred in Louisburg and Nova Scotia, like our unhappy citizen, Gibson Clough, who had held over from the previous year.

The plan of campaign for this year contemplated a push toward Montreal from Quebec, from Crown Point, and from Lake Ontario down the St. Lawrence. In the spring, Quebec had been vigorously attacked by the French, but the British fleet arrived in time to relieve it and the French retired on Montreal. The Massachusetts soldiers, except the few at Louisburg and Nova Scotia, were chiefly with the expedition on Lake Champlain, but a good many of the old soldiers enlisted or were transferred to the Rangers, who always saw the hardest fighting of all.

This year the Essex County men marched off to Worcester the last week in April, where they were mustered in by Captain Wheelock, and then continued on through Springfield to Albany, where they arrived in about two weeks. After four weeks of grilling work getting supplies up-river by batteaux, they reached Lake George, June 10, and a week later Crown Point. Over a month was spent cutting timber, presumably for boats, and not till August 11 [2] did the whole army embark for St. John's at the end of the lake. There was considerable delay at Isle aux Noix, where the French had built a fort and had to be forced out by the artillery. Little other resistance was encountered, however, and the army marched on through

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[1] Hutchinson, III, 80.

[2] Wood: *Journal*, E.I.H.C., XX, 290.

Chambly to a point opposite Montreal. By September 10, they had crossed to the north side and marched toward the city, which had already surrendered to General Amherst. A nice touch of the Puritan in Wood's *Journal* shows, when he states, 'went into ther Church and saw there immerges.' As the campaign was now over, they were at once started for home. In a week they were back at Crown Point cutting lumber again. It was not till November 18 that they started for home, but then they went by a new route, right across Vermont to Fort Number Four, where Charlestown, New Hampshire, now is, and then across southern New Hampshire, apparently about where the Keene to Nashua road now is; they were home December 1.

The war was over in America. New France was firmly held by British troops and the provincial levies were not again called out, though the Rangers still had a long task ahead of them subduing the Western posts, and some of Rogers's men even went as far as Lake Superior.[1]

In accordance with her custom, Massachusetts could not let the event pass without listening to innumerable thanksgiving sermons, and Salem was not behind in this.

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[1] Rogers: *Journals*, edited by Hough, 228.

CHAPTER XIX

SHIPPING ADVENTURES DURING THE WAR

While Salem seemed to lie far behind the frontier, she did not by any means come through the war scatheless. The farmers of Maine, New Hampshire, and the Connecticut Valley were along what is ordinarily regarded as the frontier, but Salem, as the Town Records stated in an earlier war, had 'a frontier toward the sea,' and the loss and suffering of her men at sea were just as real, if not so apparent at home, as those of the desolate farmer's family who lost their leader and had their house burned. Ships and their cargoes were captured and destroyed and their crews killed or carried into captivity.

Even before the war began, Salem people tried to take steps to assist in crippling the enemy. Ichabod Plaisted, as the chief military officer, took it upon himself to investigate the shipment of provisions, and wrote the Governor:[1]

> May it Please your Excellency —
>
> Accidently hearing that the Subjects. of the French King in the Town of Boston are Confind I thought it my Duty by express to acquaint your Excell^{cy} that here is in this Port a French master and Crew of a Vessel that belongs to a Port on Hispaniola in the West Indies who are just upon sailing. I am also Inform'd that Two or Three Vessels belonging to Newbury Cleared at the Custom House in this Place last Evening for Newfoundland supposed to be bound to Louisbourg
>
> I am your Excellencys most
> Obedient Humble Servt
> Ichabod Plaisted
>
> Salem Dec^{r} 18th 1754
> 9 OClock —

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[1] *Mass. Archives*, lxv, 48.

> In Council Decem^{r} 19th 1754 His Excellency the Governour having laid before the Board a Letter from Salem, advising of a considerable Quantity of Provisions laden on board divers Vessels, in order to be carried to the French, and it appearing to the Board to be very necessary at this Juncture, that Supplies to the French should be restrained not only from this, but also from the other British Colonies,
>
> Therefore, ORDERED that Benj^{a} Lynde, John Cushing & Stephen Sewall Esq^{rs} with such as the hon^{ble} House shall appoint be a Committee to consider & report as soon as may be what is proper for the Court to do on this Occasion.
>
> Sent down for Concurrence
> THO^{s} CLARKE D^{e}p^{ty} Sec'y.
>
> In the House of Re$_{\bar{p}}$: Dec^{r} 19. 1754. — Read and Concurred, and M^{r} Welles, Coll Choate, Judge Russel and M^{r} Tasker are joined in the affair. —
>
> T. HUBBARD Spk^{r}

There was, in 1755, a very considerable fleet sailing out of Salem, owned and manned by Salem men. This fleet was roughly divided into three classes: trading vessels that went overseas to Gibraltar, Spain, Portugal, and the wine islands; vessels that traded to the southern colonies and the West Indies, and vessels that were engaged chiefly in the fisheries. The fishermen, however, often went to the West Indies, and the overseas vessels frequently came home or sailed *via* the West Indies.

Among the larger vessels trading to Cadiz, Gibraltar, Lisbon, or the western islands at the opening of the war which made several voyages were the brigantine *Diana* of one hundred tons, commanded by John Crowninshield and Samuel Carlton, the ship *Essex*, commanded by Thomas Poynton, the ship *Guardoqui* of one hundred and twenty tons, commanded by Israel Foster, the snow *Joseph*, commanded by Thomas Dixey, and the schooner

Volant of seventy tons, commanded by John Crowninshield, Jr. Very few vessels were as large as these, and the average size was perhaps fifty tons or even less, but these sea captains did not hesitate to go to Portugal in vessels of that size. The smaller vessels carried only four or five men and the larger ones perhaps eight or ten. With the time needed for trading and loading in port, these ships were lucky if they got in as much as two round trips a year to Europe or the West Indies.

The first real trouble of the French War came when David Masury, captain of the sloop *Victory* of ninety tons, which sailed from Salem in December, 1756, met to the leeward of St. Eustatia a French privateer sloop of one hundred and fifty tons, commanded by Powell Moustrong, which fired upon him. The Frenchman took the *Victory* to St. Thomas, where he removed the cargo and stripped the sloop of sails and rigging. He left her at anchor while he sailed on another cruise, so Masury sold the sloop for £170 and returned to Salem in April with Captain Israel Lovett.[1] Masury claimed £5–12 wages and £4 for his men to the date of capture.[2]

Early in the autumn, the General Court had voted two guard vessels to help the mariners, but these vessels presumably kept near home and did little to protect the West India traders.[3] These must have been the *King George* and the *Massachusetts*. Of the latter, Thomas Sanders appears to have been the captain or a member of the crew, for in November, he asks for the establishment of a scale of wages.[4] Benjamin Ives was later commissioned a lieutenant of the province snow *Prince of Wales*.[5]

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[1] *Essex County Notarial Records*, E.I.H.C., XLVI, 128.

[2] *Ibid.*, 275.

[3] *Journal of the House of Representatives*, Oct. 13, 1756.

[4] *Mass. Archives*, LXV, 401–42.

[5] *Journal of the House of Representatives*, Felt, 1st, 450.

The French privateers were busy all winter, and Captain Orne, who sailed in December, 1756, for the Leeward Islands, was taken off Bermuda by a French xebec from Martinico and headed for Marseilles, but met a big ship which the French captain took for a British man-of-war, so ran into Madeira. An English privateer soon came in and mentioned seeing a French fleet which the captain judged was headed for Louisburg. Captain Orne either was released or escaped at Madeira, for he was back in Salem with this report in February.[1] The fact that there was a French fleet at large was not cheering news.

In July, an exasperating incident occurred which resulted in the loss of the schooner *Love*, owned by Benjamin Pickman and named for his wife, Love Rawlins. Apparently she had been at St. Eustatia under Captain Joseph Mascoll, Jr., and was homeward bound with legal papers on a legal voyage when she was seized by John Scafe, commander of the British sloop-of-war *Vulture*, on some charge of trading with the enemy and taken into Halifax. A vigorous protest was made, especially as Captain Mascoll's papers were taken away from him and not returned. What the exact charge was is not apparent, but the protest was judged by the court 'to be impertinent,' and later certificates forwarded were not exhibited to the court before the decree and could not be taken into account.[2] So the vessel was lost, but it was this tendency of the admiralty courts to throw the weight of all technicalities against the provincial shipping that created the bitter resentment that was leading up to the Revolution.

In the course of the summer a Salem brigantine was captured by a French privateer, but recaptured by a

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[1] *Boston Gazette*, Feb. 28, 1757; *Boston News Letter*, March 3, 1757.

[2] *Essex County Notarial Records*, E.I.H.C., XLVI.

New York privateer and taken into that port.[1] Two Salem schooners were also reported among the English vessels captured in the West Indies.[2] The schooner *Benjamin* loaded with fish, belonging to Benjamin Pickman, was driven ashore at Barbados by a French privateer and became a total loss.[3] There was also a French privateer operating on the Grand Banks, but she does not seem to have got any Salem vessels, though she chased some of the Marbleheaders.[4] One of the Marblehead fishermen was captured and refitted as a French privateer, but was captured by a New York privateer and returned to Marblehead.[5]

The overseas ships by no means escaped the dangers of war. Captain Thomas Poynton, in the ship *Essex* of one hundred and fifty tons, went to Ireland in May, 1757, and for the homeward trip planned to join a convoy from the Bristol Channel along with two other Salem ships. The *Essex* missed the convoy, unfortunately, and three days later was captured by the *Mélampe*, a big French privateer from Bayonne. Next day the privateer went after another ship and the *Essex* was presently recaptured by two English sloops and sent into Oporto, whence she made her way to Salem.[6]

The year 1758 does not appear to have been so dangerous, or perhaps the reports are not extant, but the owners had their difficulties, for they had to give heavy bonds that they would not take any enlisted men away in their ships that year[7] and file a list of seamen and passengers. It is true that Captain Dodge was reported taken in the West Indies, but apparently the French concentrated on the fishing fleet. One of their privateers was wrecked at Cape Sable, and when a Marblehead schooner put in to get wood, the stranded Frenchman captured her and also another from Boston. They kept the better vessel for future use and sent all the men home in the other.[1] A week or two later, some Cape Ann fishermen put into Cape Sable for shelter and, finding the French ship now cast ashore, 'brought off all the cannon.' War was obviously a sporting proposition and very evidently a gentleman's game in those days.

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[1] *Boston Evening Post*, June 13, 1757.

[2] *Boston Gazette*, Aug. 29, 1757.

[3] *Essex County Notarial Records*, E.I.H.C., XLVI.

[4] *Ibid.*, 274.

[5] *Boston Gazette*, Sept. 12, 1757.

[6] *Ibid.*, Feb. 18, 1758.

[7] *Mass. Archives*, LXV, 454.

In August, this Frenchman, or another, chased the schooner *Elizabeth* of Marblehead, but could not catch her.[2] Perhaps this cruiser was part of the fleet of fourteen frigates and six ships-of-the-line which came out of Canada River about this time, some of which were to cruise on the Banks. They did catch a Cape Ann schooner and, after removing all her fishing stores, ransomed her for two hundred guineas and let her go, which again was a sporting thing to do, quite unlike some of the conduct in the Great War. They also said they caught a Marbleheader at the same time, but the account does not say which one.[3]

In 1759, shipping became very profitable. No doubt the war had increased the demand for goods and the carrying trade benefited accordingly. The old port of Monte Cristo, on the north side of the island of Santo Domingo, was a no man's land whence the ships cleared, and there is more than a suspicion that the act against trading with the enemy was thus avoided. Monte Cristo had been raided by a French frigate early in the winter and many ships destroyed;[4] nevertheless, His Majesty's sloop *Viper* was sent there to investigate in February and discovered no less than twenty-nine American ships in port, including three from Salem.[1] David Neal came home from there soon after in the schooner *Dolphin*, so perhaps he was one. Another was, no doubt, the schooner *Sally*, commanded by Bartholomew Putnam, which was seized by Richard Lechmere, collector of the port, perhaps on information from the captain of the *Viper*.[2] Later, two more Salem ships were taken, apparently at sea by British cruisers, coming back from Monte Cristo.[3]

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[1] *Boston Gazette*, April 24, 1758.

[2] *Essex County Notarial Records*, E.I.H.C., XLVI, 279.

[3] *Boston Gazette*, Aug. 21, 1758.

[4] *Ibid.*, Jan. 15, 1759.

The French were also active, and Captain Josiah Orne was captured by a French frigate on his way home from Jamaica in the schooner *Tryal*, but ransomed his vessel and cargo for three hundred dollars, though she was a rather large schooner for her time, some eighty tons.[4] There must have been a great many Salem vessels at sea. Samuel Gardner[5] mentions casually in the course of a few months the arrival or clearance of a dozen or more vessels whose captains he happened to know or be interested in, and this could not have been a quarter of those that came in. It was a busy port, and losses were expected.

What caused the greatest fuss of the year was probably the capture of Richard Derby's schooner *Three Brothers*, commanded by Captain Michael Driver. She was seized three days out of St. Eustatia by a British privateer schooner called the *King of Prussia* and sent to Spanishtown, where the privateer removed most of her cargo of fish, wine, oil, and raisins and 797 pieces of eight, and then took her to Antigua. Captain Driver was convinced he could get no satisfaction, so came home to report.[6] Mr. Derby registered a claim for £1334, but probably received nothing, as she was really trading with the enemy, but the insulting conduct of the privateer captain made it particularly exasperating. The sloop *Andego*, bound for Antigua, was also captured by a French privateer and carried into Martinico.[1]

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[1] *Boston Gazette*, July 30, 1759.

[2] Gardner: *Diary*, E.I.H.C., xlix, 5.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Boston Gazette*, May 21, 1759.

[5] *Diary*, E.I.H.C., xlix, 5–11.

[6] *Essex County Notarial Records*, E.I.H.C., xlvi, 287.

Captain Jonathan Mason, of the schooner *Beaver*, had a particularly rough time. The day after Christmas he sailed from St. Eustatia for Monte Cristo with some empty casks and thirteen hundred pieces of eight. A Spanish vessel, commanded by a fellow 'who called himself a Guarde Coast,' fired on him and took him and his men out of the vessel, 'treating the said men in a barbarous manner by slapping and beating them.' They were carried into Porto Rico, their pieces of eight were taken from them, and they were imprisoned five months. Finally they were allowed to buy a canoe and escaped to St. Thomas. Their crime was a suspicion that they were coming to trade on the Spanish coast, but one suspects that the pieces of eight had more to do with it.

The fishing fleet suffered from the activities of a French shallop out of Canso. She had only one swivel gun, but had early captured a fine schooner belonging to Stephen Higginson and fitted her out with six swivel guns and four carriage guns.[2] Between them they took the schooners *George*, *Swallow*, and *Sparrow*, belonging to Richard Derby, Timothy Orne, Jr., and Francis Cabot from Salem, and five other New England vessels.[3] Mr. Orne's schooner they took within about twenty-two leagues of Louisburg and turned the crew loose in their boat, in which they reached Louisburg. Among them were William Silsbee[4] and David Felt.[5] For the other crews, probably captured a few days later, they reserved Captain Derby's schooner, which was said to be the meanest in the lot, and sent them back to Salem.[1] This vessel was probably the *Three Sisters*.

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[1] *Boston Gazette*, Aug. 20, 1759.

[2] *Ibid.*, Sept. 3, 1759.

[3] Gardner: *Diary*, E.I.H.C., XLIX, 11.

[4] *Boston Gazette*, Sept. 3, 1759.

[5] E.I.H.C., III, 103.

In the spring of 1760, French privateering became especially active in the West Indies. In March, Captain Cook and Captain Turel were reported captured and carried into Martinico.[2] In May, Captain Samuel Carlton in the schooner *Dolphin* was taken by a French sloop. He and all his men were transferred to the privateer, and he did not know what became of his schooner. It was said to have been taken to Dominico while he was landed at Martinico and reached Salem in July *via* St. Eustatia.[3]

Soon after, John Hathorne in the sloop *Adventure*, on his way to St. Eustatia with lumber, was chased by two French sloops and a schooner. They seemed to be catching him, so he threw his deckload of lumber overboard about four o'clock and then found he could outsail them. At ten o'clock, however, the wind failed and one of the sloops overtook him. He was taken to Martinico and the sloop to Dominico.[4]

These were but a few of the incidents of the year, and Captain Hathorne had plenty of company, as there were several other Salem and Marblehead captains in the jail at Martinico. In July, it was reported that French privateers were so thick in the West Indies that no vessel could escape capture.[5] The life of the town depended on its trade, however, and, be it said to the credit of the courage of the captains and sailors as well as the owners, they kept on going. In October, Captain Henry Collins, of the sloop *Sally*, was caught coming home

[1] Gardner: *Diary*, E.I.H.C., XLIX, 11.

[2] *Boston Gazette*, April 14, 1760.

[3] *Essex County Notarial Records*, E.I.H.C., XLVI, 328.

[4] *Ibid.*, 330.

[5] *Boston News Letter*, July 5, 1760.

from Guadeloupe with a valuable cargo and taken to Martinico. It is interesting to note what the cargo was. It included 69 hogsheads of molasses, 10 of sugar, 2500 pounds of coffee, 825 pounds of cotton, as well as 600 pieces of eight.[1]

Right through the winter of 1760–61, the Salem vessels kept on going to the West Indies in spite of the danger. Captains Orne, Webb, Carroll, Mason, Hodges, Williams, and Eden were reported on February 15 as safe at Guadeloupe or St. Kitts, while the little sloop *Biddeford*, commanded by Jonathan Porter, and the sloop *Love*, Samuel Chipman, master, were captured and carried to Martinico.[2] Brigs commanded respectively by Captains Lovett and Hathorne were added to the list of captures before the end of July,[3] and early in August, Captain William Morgan, of the sloop *Swallow*, was overhauled by two French privateers and carried into Cape François.

The losses were becoming too numerous and the trade began to hesitate. On October 28, 1761, the leading merchants of Salem filed the following petition [4] with the governor:

> Province of the Mass^a Bay } To His Excellency Francis Bernard Esquire
> Captain General & Commander in Chief of
> said Province & Vice Admiral of the same
>
> The Petition of the Subscribers Merchants & Inhabitants of Salem a Sea Port Town of s^d Province most Humbly Shews —
>
> That for want of Convoy in ye Trade to the West Indies there has been taken on that Trade since y^e 1^s July 1760 by the Enemy Twenty Three sail of Vessels belonging to said Town, and that it is probable the other Trading Towns of the Province have suffered in the same proportion in

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[1] *Essex County Notarial Records*, E.I.H.C., XLVII, 125.

[2] *Boston Gazette*, March 30, 1761.

[3] *Ibid.*, Aug. 24, 1761.

[4] *Mass. Archives*, LXVI, 157.

that Trade and this is ye season for fitting out Vessels for the West Indies —

Wherefore Your Petitioners Humbly Pray Your Excellency to order that the Province Ship King George (at the Charge of the Government) Convoy to the West Indies such Vessels of the Province as shall soon be bound there and that sd Ship continue in the West Indies 'till ye Spring and during the Winter season Convoy to the Northward of ye Islands there such Vessels of the Province as shall be returning and that in ye Spring sd Ship return taking under her Convoy such Vessels as shall then be bound heither, which it is hoped will be Granted considering that ye Merchants of the Government pay by Duty of Tonnage on Shipping a great proportion of the Charge of maintaining said Ship, and ye whole Government Interested in ye safety & success of the Trading part of the same

and Your Petitioners as in Duty bound shall ever pray &c

Salem Oct. 28th 1761.

Thos Mason
Jona Gardner
George Dodge
Richard Derby Jnr
Elias Hasket Derby
Wm Vans
Francis Cabot
Sam Gardner

Richd Derby
Bezaleel Toppan
Timo Orne
Samll Bacon
Joshua Ward
Jonathan Ropes Jnr
Miles Ward Jnr
Peter Frye
Benja Goodhue
Jona Orne
Danll Mackey
Warwick Palfray
Wm West
John Crowninshield

This petition is interesting because it puts the case so clearly, and also because it gives the names of the prominent merchants, though no doubt some were off on voyages and, therefore, did not sign. The younger Derbys were comparatively young men, and the fact that they signed, together with the fact that Richard Derby signed first, suggests that it may have been a Derby idea. The petition was not granted, though it seems as if it should have been.

The captures went right on. The schooner *Jolly Robbin*, Captain Joseph Mottey, was captured on September 22, and the brig *Ranger*, Captain Henry Elkins, a little later.[1] The latter was ransomed and Joseph James was left at Martinico as a hostage for the payment. This idea of ransoming a boat on the sea was interesting, and certainly showed confidence in the good faith of both sides. Apparently the captain gave a hostage for the payment of the ransom and then proceeded on his voyage.[2]

Some of the French privateers were daring enough to approach the New England coast, and in September a Bermuda-built sloop, said to be an extraordinary sailer, was reported off Long Island. She carried ten three- and four-pounder carriage guns and one hundred and twenty men. She had planned to land at Egg Harbor to replenish her water supply,[3] and she did land some of her prisoners on a wood boat off Gardiner's Island.

One of the greatest disputes of the whole war occurred over the capture of Richard Derby's sloop *Sally*. On her way back from the West Indies, she was captured by the French privateer *La Tigre*. The mate William Adams was taken as hostage for payment of a ransom and Captain Michael Driver was allowed to proceed. Mr. Derby and a couple of Newburyport merchants, who also had a hostage at Cape François, fitted out the schooner *Mary* and sent her down under Captain Driver. When passing the Bahamas, she was seized by an English privateer and carried into Nassau, after the ransom money had been removed, on the ground that she was bound for a French port. Captain Driver protested that she was just a cartel in ballast going under a flag of truce to redeem hostages and Mr. Derby protested to the General Court at home. After two months she was released and sailed on. The ransom was paid, hostages released, and she started back. Before she got clear, however, the port officer grabbed her again, sent the poor hostages to Santiago de Cuba and the *Mary* after them under a prize crew. There she was held three months, till the worms had eaten a hole in her bottom, and then finally released. Captain Driver got her over to Port Royal, Jamaica, repaired her, and finally got back to Salem. The whole episode cost Mr. Derby and his friends in Newburyport, including the ransom, about eight hundred pounds.[1]

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[1] Felt, 1st, 458.
[2] E.I.H.C., XLIX, 279.
[3] *Boston Gazette*, Sept. 14, 1761.

Another episode which angered Mr. Derby even more was the case of the *Ranger*, a French prize, which he bought at Gibraltar and loaded with wine for the West Indies. Captain George Crowninshield sailed her down and successfully exchanged his wine for sugar and started for Leghorn. He was promptly seized because the *Ranger* had no register (which could not be got till she returned to Salem) and on the pretense that she was trading with a French port. She was taken into Nassau and condemned. If she had reached Leghorn, she would have netted $70,000, and Mr. Derby was greatly aroused. He sent his son John to Nassau to fight the case, protested to the General Court, and instructed his London counsel to take the case up with the home government. The admiralty judge, Bradford, was a New England man and the governor was the former Governor Shirley of Massachusetts, but they seemed to have no love for their former home and turned ship and cargo over to the captors. In his letter to London, Mr. Derby says that in three years fully two hundred colonial vessels had been condemned at Nassau and that Judge Bradford and Governor Shirley, who had gone there poor men, were now worth £30,000 apiece. No wonder this sort of thing bred ill-feeling and disloyalty among the American merchants.[1]

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[1] Hunt: *American Merchants*, II, 24; Peabody: *Derbys of Salem*, E.I.H.C., XLIV, 200.

It is not surprising that there were so many casualties among Salem vessels, for the town had a fleet of a hundred or more craft at sea in the fisheries and overseas trade. In 1762, thirty fishing vessels brought in 11,177 quintals of merchantable and 17,498 quintals of Jamaica fish.[2] There is a list of fifty-three fishing vessels and thirty-five trading vessels afloat in 1765, and this is probably incomplete. There were almost as many owners, for, while some men owned several vessels or parts of vessels, there was much dividing-up of the risks. The largest shipowners were Timothy Orne, Benjamin Pickman, Richard Derby, and Francis and Joseph Cabot, but many men owned shares in vessels and there were probably sixty or seventy of these part owners.[3]

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[1] Peabody: *Derbys of Salem*, E.I.H.C., XLIV, 201–02.

[2] Felt, 1st, 461.

[3] List of vessels in 1765, E.I.H.C., LXII, 8; vessels insured by T. Orne in 1758, E.I.H.C., XXXI, 88–95; vessels owned by T. Orne, 1740–58, E.I.H.C., XXXVII, 77–80.

CHAPTER XX

COMMERCIAL LIFE OF THE SEVENTEEN-SIXTIES

THE Salem of this period was pre-eminently a seaport. Her interests were primarily with the sea, and her men were chiefly interested in shipping and fishing. There were a little over four thousand people in the town, and the women outnumbered the men four to three. The hazards of the sea early took their toll of lives among the seamen, and the census shows that while among the children under sixteen the boys were only slightly outnumbered by the girls, the women greatly outnumbered the men.[1]

During the period from 1750 to 1769, for which we have the entrances and clearances of ships from the Salem custom house district, which included Beverly, Marblehead, Gloucester, Ipswich, and Newburyport, as well as Salem, we find the names of some twelve hundred different captains recorded as entering or sailing one or more times from the district.[2] Probably the largest single group was from Salem, so she may have supplied as many as three or four hundred captains in the twenty years. There sailed out of the district some twenty-four hundred different vessels of all kinds, from ships of two hundred tons to little schooners and sloops of twenty-five or thirty.

In 1759, at the middle of the period, young Samuel Gardner wrote in his diary: 'Trade flourishes at Salem, foreignors bring their goods here. There is in our harbor 6 or 8 Topsail vessels besides a great number of other vessels.'[3] The presence of these foreigners may account for a number of large ships with captains of unusual names who entered and cleared but once, whose registration is not indicated. Among these was David Ochterlony, whose son graduated at Dummer Academy and became a famous general in India. The son's monument standing in the square at Calcutta bears the statement that he was educated at Newbury.

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[1] Felt, 1st, 464.

[2] *Early Coastwise Shipping of Salem.*

[3] E.I.H.C., XLIX, 12.

The fact that the old captains were not very versatile in selecting names for their vessels does not make the problem of identifying the vessels and their owners any easier. There are some seventy-five Sallys from brigantines of one hundred tons to sloops and schooners of twenty-five or thirty, not to mention some twenty-five Sarahs, which are sometimes called 'Sally' for short. It is to be suspected that some pretty little Sally who took a bit of pride in having a boat named after her must have felt a bit ruffled when she discovered that the boat named after another Sally across the street was called the Charming Sally, for there were over twenty Charming Sallys. There were also Charming Pollys and Pattys and Nancys, at least a dozen Charming Mollies and half a dozen Charming Bettys and Betsys but there was only one Charming Hannah, one Charming Jenny and one Charming Kate, and how could there have been more than one Charming Michael Storling's Fancy! Royalty was not neglected in the catalogue. There was a King of Prussia and half a dozen Princes of Orange, not to mention Dukes of Cumberland and the Earl of Derby and the Earl of Gloucester. The Caesar and the Cicero, the Aurora and the Diana, show some classical aspirations, while the Endecott and the Bradford bear testimony to the love for New England history. It is a relief to find that the Salems outnumber the Lynns at least two to one.

The matter of ownership and command changes like a kaleidoscope. A ship sailed by a certain captain for a certain owner on one voyage appears for the next voyage under four owners, including the captain and the original owner, and a few months later both captain and owner pass out of the picture and the venture becomes an entirely new proposition. Sometimes the same owner goes on for many voyages and, on other ships, the same captain sails many voyages for constantly changing owners. This is all evidence of the intense activity and vitality of the shipping interest. Dozens of different men were taking an interest in dozens of different ships, and when they had no interest directly, they may have had an interest as underwriters of the insurance. We know that in a single year Timothy Orne underwrote insurance on a hundred different voyages,[1] of which sixteen were lost or captured.

If we can take the year 1765 as a fair average, we find that some sixty or seventy different men had an interest in the eighty-eight vessels then owned in the town. Of these, fifty-three were primarily engaged in the fisheries and thirty-five in foreign trade, though often they changed places. The fishing boats were usually schooners of fifty tons or so, while the foreign vessels included a few ships, snows, and brigantines as well as schooners and sloops.[2]

Probably the richest merchant of the time was Timothy Orne, Jr. He was the son of Timothy Orne, Sr., who had been a merchant since the early years of the century and had acquired a handsome fortune. His wife was Lois Pickering. The younger Orne lived in a delightful house on Essex Street nearly opposite the head of Crombie Street, which many of the present generation knew as the Hodges house. One time and another he owned an interest

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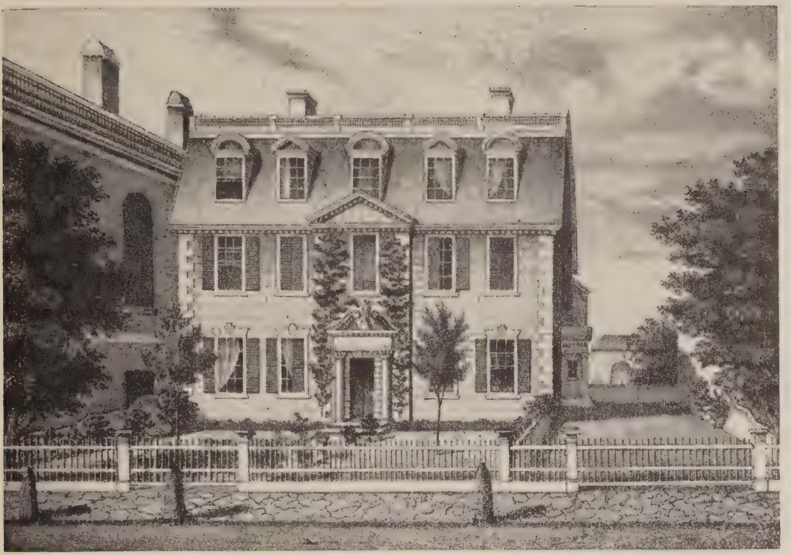
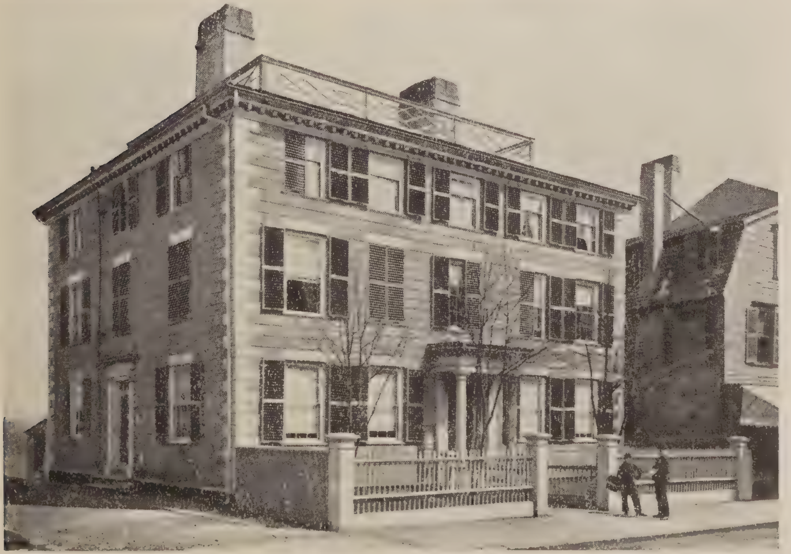
[1] E.I.H.C., xxxi, 88–95.

[2] List in *Curwen MSS.*, E.I.H.C., lxii, 8.



MANSION OF COLONEL BENJAMIN PICKMAN



MANSION OF TIMOTHY ORNE, ESQUIRE

in at least thirty-five or forty vessels, and owned at least seven or eight most of the time. He counted among his captains many of the best-known merchants of a later day.[1] John Crowninshield, Richard Derby, George Dodge, John Gardner, and Joseph Grafton all sailed for him, as well as many others. His voyages took in the West Indies, Barbados, Surinam, Jamaica, and the southern colonial ports. In the overseas trade his vessels went to Spain, Gibraltar, and the western islands. He died in 1767 and left an estate of over twenty thousand pounds.[2] His portrait shows a man of slender build with regular features, handsomely dressed after the style of his time. No descendants in the male line are left, but the name of Orne has been carried by the descendants of two of his daughters with distinction even to this generation, and many of the best-known New England families are descended from him.

The house of Derby grew up under the shade of the Orne activities. Richard Derby, the elder, started out as a captain for the elder Orne after he had served his apprenticeship. He was a contemporary of the younger Orne, but he had to make his own way in the world instead of inheriting a business. His mother was a Haskett and his wife was Mary Hodges. Of his three sons, two, John and Richard, were seamen of marked ability and Elias Haskett was a well-trained merchant, though he probably never went to sea. His daughter Mary married Captain George Crowninshield and Sarah married Captain John Gardner. Both of them sailed Derby ships one time or another, so the Honorable Richard had the nucleus of a great commercial house right in his own family.

By 1760, Richard had retired from the sea and his ships were steadily going about under other captains. The ship *Antelope* of one hundred and sixty tons under his sons Richard, Jr., and John, as well as under Captains Edward Allen and John Masury, made voyages to Leghorn, Cadiz, Gibraltar, and the Leeward Islands. The brigantine *Neptune* of ninety-nine tons went chiefly to Barbados, Madeira, and Fayal, usually under Captain Joseph Mascol, Jr. In 1765 the Derbys were interested in at least eight vessels, most of them in the foreign trade.[1] They seem to have taken less interest in the fisheries as time went on, and concentrated especially on European trade. At least sixteen or twenty vessels can be identified as belonging to the Derbys before 1765, and, unlike Mr. Orne, they usually owned a principal interest in if not the whole of these ships.[2]

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[1] *Vessels Owned by T. Orne, Jr.*, 1740–58, E.I.H.C., xxxvii, 77.

[2] Felt, 1st, 470.

Richard Derby lived, all his active life, in the house built by Timothy Lindall on the easterly corner of Herbert and Derby Streets, later known as the Miles Ward house, which still stands. During this period his son Elias Haskett lived in the little brick Derby house on Derby Street, and Richard, Jr., lived in a house near his father's, which is now gone. His wharf was near his house, though what is now known as 'Derby wharf' was not yet built. He also had a wharf and probably a warehouse on Winter Island.[3]

Unlike the Derbys, the Pickmans were engaged extensively in fishing as well as in foreign trade. Colonel Pickman was one of the most distinguished citizens of Salem. He was representative in the General Court, a councillor, and colonel of the First Essex Regiment. He lived in the fine old house on the corner of Lynde and

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[1] *Salem Vessels in 1765, Curwen MSS.*, E.I.H.C., LXII, 8.

[2] Phillips: *Richard Derby;* Peabody: *Derbys of Salem*, E.I.H.C., XLIV, 193.

[3] Phillips: *Derby Wills and Land Titles*, E.I.H.C., LXV, 243, 451.

Washington Streets later owned by Elias Haskett Derby. His son held degrees from both Harvard and Yale and had married Mary Toppan, the daughter of Doctor Bezaleel Toppan, whose wife was a Barton. The younger Pickman lived at this time in the beautiful old house on Essex Street opposite Prison Lane, now Saint Peter Street, which is still standing, much mutilated.

In 1765, the Pickmans owned eight fishing vessels and nine larger vessels engaged in foreign trade. Their largest vessels appear to have been the snow *Endecott*, Captain Ebenezer Ward, and the brigantine *Bradford*, commanded at various times by Captains Thomas Poynton and John Hathorne. The naming of these two vessels for two colonial governors may reflect the owners' respect for the government of the founders. These vessels made interesting triangular voyages to Newfoundland and then either to Spain or Barbados, as seemed desirable, before returning to Salem.[1]

When the elder Pickman died, his real estate alone was valued at nearly £12,000, and when he included his fine house at only £1400, it can be seen that the value was far from exaggerated. He owned much land in the new western townships of Lyndeborough, New Salem, and others. He died just before the Revolution, but his son long outlived him.

Perhaps the mercantile family next in importance was that of the Cabots, Francis and Joseph. Joseph lived in the beautiful house still well preserved on Essex Street opposite the Public Library, which he had built a few years before. Francis lived on Essex Street between Crombie and Summer Streets in a house built in 1700 by his father, who was a Jersey man.[2] The two brothers owned half a dozen fishing schooners and were interested in several overseas vessels. With Timothy Orne they owned an interest in the schooner *Cato* that sailed to Fayal and Bilboa under Jonathan Gardner, Jr., and Cabot Gerrish, and also in a brigantine called the *Salem* that sailed for many years to the West Indies under Captains Thomas Mason and Jonathan Gardner. Apparently both brothers were interested in all the ventures. The family had not yet acquired the wealth which came to the next generation by successful privateering, and a somewhat bilious unknown contemporary described Francis as

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[1] Dow: *Diary and Letters of Benjamin Pickman.*

[2] *Pickman's Account*, E.I.H.C., VI, 107.

> a little Fretful man
> Whose ease consists in scolding when he can.
> Thy Head's too shallow to admit much sense
> And what thou hast is dull impertinence.[1]

Another group already started on the mercantile path was the Crowninshield family. They did not seem to be interested in the fisheries, but had substantial interests in a number of vessels in the foreign trade. Jonathan and George, John and Jacob owned three or four vessels, sometimes together and sometimes with Benjamin Pickman, Jr. The brigantines *Betsey* and *Benjamin*, the latter usually commanded by Jacob himself, seem to have been their chief venture. As Captain George had in 1757 married Mary Derby, the eldest daughter of Richard, it would seem that the Crowninshield ventures should have been allied with those of the Derbys and the Ornes rather than with those of the Pickmans, but it does not appear to have been so. At this time also they had not acquired the great fortune they subsequently got from privateering, and it may be that some infelicity of temperament or pride of manner made them unpopular; for the same ill-tempered anonymous contemporary poet, who paid the compliment to Francis Cabot, addressed them too:

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[1] B. F. Browne: *Memorandum Book, Essex Institute MSS.*

> Ye say, base Plebians, none respect your merit,
> So I believe, for where the Devil is it?
> In what does it consist, ye Vulgar Race,
> Ye Sons of Pride, but in a shameless Face?

Of course the Crowninshields were not descended from the Puritan aristocracy of ministers and magistrates as most Salem merchants were, but the Crowninshield beauty was no doubt already in evidence.

The Gardners, always a useful and honorable family in Salem, were represented as merchants in their generation chiefly by Samuel Gardner and Captain Jonathan Gardner, Sr. Samuel and his son-in-law, Captain Daniel Mackay, owned three or four fishing vessels and at least two overseas vessels. The schooner *Neptune* probably plied chiefly to the West Indies. Daniel Mackay commanded the *Dolphin* and the *Tryal* as well as the *Neptune*, and was at sea for many years. Jonathan Gardner had an interest in the schooner *Cicero* with Timothy Orne and in the brigantine *Maria Teresa*, which plied to the West Indies, as well as other vessels.

Most of the other shipowners were probably primarily captains who had a part interest in their own ships and perhaps in one or two others, but were wise and thrifty mariners rather than members of the shipowning industry. Then there were others, like Judge Peter Frye, son-in-law of Benjamin Pickman, and Doctor Bezaleel Toppan, who neither went to sea themselves nor were active merchants, but who nevertheless invested some of their money in vessels.

Shipping was the popular and profitable industry of the day, and money flowed into it as later it flowed into turnpikes, railroads, and cotton mills. All the really adventurous young men went to sea, the best of them soon rose to be captains, and the wisest and ablest early began to own ships and send them out under other captains. Every captain had to be also a trader. The cargo was usually consigned to him to sell in any port where it could be sold to best advantage. He was usually allowed space in the vessel for ventures of his own, and could make money on his own trading in addition to his wages. The life produced an extremely independent, forceful, and daring group of men. It was dangerous and exciting, toilsome and difficult. Cowards and slackers and sluggards did not last long in the race. There were rich rewards and heavy losses, but in the long run the rewards far outweighed the losses and shipping brought vast wealth to the town. Many of the beautiful houses and much of the exquisite property handed down as heirlooms and still in existence was paid for with this wealth of one hundred and seventy-five years ago.

It would be interesting to trace the lives and connections of the many men who sailed the Salem ships of this period, but they are numbered by hundreds, and the task is too extensive for the present work.[1] Yet it was really the skill of the captains faithfully trading in hundreds of ports in hundreds of small ventures that brought success to the whole undertaking. To the fidelity of these men who did their duty well in the face of great dangers and difficulties belongs the real credit.

During this period Salem was in some ways a more important port than Boston. Foreign vessels which brought goods from England for sale in the colony might bring them to Boston, but they had to repair to the ports of Essex County to get the cargoes of fish and lumber which formed the staple return cargoes. From all sources, wealth accumulated rapidly and was the basis, not only of economic prosperity, but of the social graces and intellectual interests which soon began to be evident.

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[1] The index of the new volume *Early Coastwise and Foreign Shipping of Salem — A Record of the Entrances and Clearances of the Port of Salem, 1750–1769,* recently published by the Essex Institute, gives a practically complete list of the shipmasters of this period of Salem, Marblehead, Beverly, Gloucester, Ipswich, and Newburyport.

As representatives of the old captains, we have had to pick out a few, though many others are just as deserving of mention. It no doubt took these men, who often began as cabin boys or seamen, years to work up to their commands, but they usually sailed as commanders for only about ten or fifteen years. Joseph Lambert sailed a voyage or two to the West Indies in the brigantine *Mary and Sarah* and to Gibraltar in the *Maria Teresa*, and then we find him taking the big snow *Earl of Derby* back to Gibraltar in 1759. He transferred to the *Lydia* of one hundred and forty tons and sailed her to Gibraltar, Madeira, and Jamaica four voyages in three years before he took the brigantine *Ranger*. He took her to Barbados, Fayal, Lisbon, and Jamaica and then transferred to the schooner *Mercury*. His career seems to have ended with the schooner *Liberty*, but he must have made at least fifteen voyages, five of them across the Atlantic and the rest to the West Indies. Most if not all of the ships he commanded belonged chiefly to the house of Derby.

Another of the captains who sailed chiefly for the Derbys was Henry Elkins. He began as master of the brig *Ranger* sailing to Gibraltar, Madeira, and the Azores and continued in the schooner *Pembroke*, in which he made at least one triangular voyage to the West Indies and then to Leghorn; but most of the *Pembroke's* voyages were to the West Indies and return or to Louisburg and back.

For seven or eight years George Dodge sailed the schooners *Beaver* and *Rowley* and the brigantine *Cicero* to Barbados, Guadeloupe, and St. Martin's for Timothy Orne, but he made at least one trip to Cadiz. His service seems to have ended in 1761.

For ten years Michael Driver commanded many Derby ships, but for one reason or another seems to have had a different ship for almost every voyage. As a matter of fact, he had bad luck and lost several ships by capture or shipwreck, and that may be the reason. His voyages ranged the coast from Newfoundland to Guadeloupe, and he seems to have crossed the ocean only once when he went to Cadiz to bring home the big snow *Earl of Derby*.

From 1752 to 1767, David Masury commanded several ships in voyages to the West Indies, with a trip or two to Cadiz or Alicante mixed in. For several years he commanded the brigantine *Sally*, owned chiefly by Doctor Bezaleel Toppan, and later a big brigantine of one hundred and ten tons called the *Greyhound*, of which he himself was part owner.

Edward Gibaut, whom Doctor Bentley often mentions with commendation and to whom he attributes the information on which Nathaniel Bowditch based his chart of Salem Harbor, for twelve years sailed big ships to and from Spain for Benjamin Pickman. He commanded the snow *Tartar* of one hundred and twelve tons for many voyages. These overseas voyages seem to have been the coveted berths, for we find that the owners' sons or relatives seem to have been entrusted with most of them. Young John and Richard Derby sailed the big Derby ships to Spain, Portugal, and the Straits; Josiah Orne the best Orne ships, and George and Jacob Crowninshield the ships of theirs which went to Europe.

These are but instances of the sort of work these captains did, and there were dozens of them. Very few continued to be masters more than a dozen years. Some sailed only a few voyages. A goodly number became part owners of one or two ships, and a few emerged with fleets of their own. No doubt a few of them were failures, but as a class they succeeded magnificently, and it was their energy and resourcefulness that made the whole commercial venture a success.

In Salem no outburst of activity ever occurred without the inherent tendency of these strong individualists to work together for mutual benefit coming to the surface, and it was so in their maritime affairs. On March 25, 1766, eighteen of the sea captains formed an association for mutual benefit and the relief of widows and children of members, called The Salem Marine Society. They also had in mind the collection of data that would be conducive to the safety and ease of navigation in waters not as yet buoyed, charted, and lighted. Captain Samuel Williams appears to have been the moving spirit, for he was not only the clerk and treasurer, but the acting master from 1766 to 1768. The first eighteen members were typically shipmasters rather than merchants, but the society prospered, and all the great names in Salem's commercial history were sooner or later enrolled. Sixty-nine captains had joined before the Revolution temporarily suspended its activities.

Hardly more than a year had elapsed before need for their services developed. Captain John Hathorne was lost at sea, and Captain Williams was instructed to wait upon his widow and see if help was needed. It was, and a generous gift was made from the society's box. Then began a long series of benefactions which brought hope and courage to hundreds of widows and orphans right down to the present day. In 1768, Jonathan Gardner, Jr., was invited to join the society, and become its clerk and treasurer, and for over fifty years the Gardners, father and son, served as treasurers.

In the first fifteen years, sixty-three members had joined, and twenty of these had passed away, but curiously enough only two had died at sea. All the rest died at home.

The early meetings were held at the house of Captain Williams and those of other members, but by 1773 they had adjourned to Webb's Tavern, which had just been opened and appropriately christened the 'Ship Tavern.' It was on the corner of Washington and Church Streets. Captain Jonathan Webb, the proprietor, was a member of the society.

They were serious men, and intended to have their society conducted in a dignified manner. Cursing or profane swearing cost the member guilty one shilling fourpence lawful money; quarrels or contentions might cost from two to twenty shillings, while card-playing or gaming at meetings was prohibited. Being a common drunkard or guilty of any vice or disturbing the peace was cause for dismissal from the society altogether.[1] In 1771 those who 'tattled and discovered' the affairs of the society were also deemed unworthy of membership.

This society still goes on. The shipping long ago left the port and no more qualified members could be enlisted, so the sons and grandsons of the former members still carry on the tradition and dispense its charities. It has become an hereditary fellowship.

[1] First By-Laws.

CHAPTER XXI

SOCIAL SALEM OF THE SEVENTEEN-SIXTIES

WHEN Mary Vial came to Salem in the late autumn of 1759 as the second wife of Doctor Edward Augustus Holyoke, she fell into a pleasant social circle. Doctor Holyoke was a physician of established practice and no doubt had a good income. He was the son of the Reverend Edward Holyoke, for twenty-three years the minister of the Second Church of Marblehead, which was really founded to supply him with a pastorate, and then for twenty-two years president of Harvard College. Mary Vial's father was a shopkeeper in Boston, and her mother was the daughter of another famous shopkeeper named Jonathan Simpson, whose family mostly became tories.[1] Doctor Holyoke's first wife was Judith Pickman, daughter of Colonel Benjamin Pickman, but she lived only a year, and three years later the doctor married Mary Vial. Colonel Pickman evidently liked the new bride, however, for early in the new year she records that a sparerib came in as a present from him as a pleasant little token of friendship. The doctor was thirty-two, she was twenty-three, and they were a congenial and happy couple.

All the best homes in Salem were open to them, and they enjoyed its society. The same day that Colonel Pickman sent them the sparerib, they went to a dance at James Jeffrey's. Things had evidently liberalized a bit in the town and dancing was not any longer a mortal sin. James Jeffrey was a son of that young man who came from Portsmouth and married Ruth Pratt, the daughter of the tavern-keeper.[2] His father died in 1755, but he still owned the house opposite the First Church next to the corner.[1] The younger Jeffrey was about the doctor's age, and no doubt the young people all met there.

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[1] *Holyoke Diaries*, xv.

[2] See p. 118.

There was much visiting to and from Boston. Mrs. Holyoke's uncle and aunt Simpson came down in April and stayed a while with Richard Lechmere, the collector of the port, into whose family Simpson had married. Mr. Lechmere was then living in the large Browne mansion nearly opposite the present Central Street, and as the chief officer of the crown occupied a position of some distinction in the town. He was one of the best-bred men in New England and was a nephew of that Lord Lechmere who flourished in the time of George the First. He seems to have been a man of personal charm, and, as the crown was not yet insisting on the strict enforcement of the laws of trade, he did not acquire the odium which fell upon one of his successors, James Cockle. This was soon after the great fire in Boston, and the Simpsons may have been burned out.

The year was full of pleasant things for the Holyokes. They dined at Colonel Pickman's and went out to his beautiful farm at Forest River to spend the afternoon. They took tea with Colonel Epes Sargent and his wife, who was the widow of Colonel Samuel Browne. An evening was spent at the Reverend Thomas Barnard's, and on the next New Year's Day Mrs. Holyoke and her sister Betsy visited at Mrs. Samuel Barton's, where Barton Square now leaves Essex Street. Captain Barton belonged to the maritime group and made his money in the West India trade.

The next evening came another dance at the Jeffreys', which must have been held at the Sun Tavern, which Mrs. Jeffrey still owned. These dances came about every two weeks during January, in spite of the fact that smallpox broke out in town, and church services were suspended for a month! Half a dozen people Mrs. Holyoke knew, died of it, and others were carried to the pest-house; nevertheless this March was an interesting month. In a single week she took tea at Mrs. Crowninshield's, visited at William Pynchon's, and was at Colonel Pickman's with Mrs. Benjamin Lynde the day before the next dance at the Jeffreys'; a day or two later she made her first call on Mrs. Andrew Oliver, who was Mrs. Lynde's daughter.[1] Her husband was the son of the Honorable Andrew Oliver, lieutenant-governor of the province, and was himself judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Essex. They lived on Essex Street at the corner of Liberty Street.

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[1] *Pickman's Homes*, E.I.H.C., II, 100.

As the spring wore along, social activities were mixed with more homely household tasks. Mrs. Holyoke made soap, and ironed and scoured the pewter. The sacred New England rite of 'spring cleaning' was started with white-washing, something not mentioned. She 'dressed a calf's head turtle fashion,' which was enough of an occasion to justify entering in her diary. The description sounds like mock-turtle soup,[2] but she does not say who ate it.

On April 7, the Honorable Andrew Oliver, Mr. John Higginson, register of deeds, Major Daniel Eppes, and Colonel Benjamin Pickman dined with the Holyokes. It is hoped their wives came too, but she does not say so. A Miss Appleton, probably sister of John Appleton and daughter of the Reverend Nathaniel Appleton of Cambridge, turned up in town and Colonel Sargent and Judge Lynde gave parties for her. Barbecues seem to have been the style for outdoor parties, and she went to a big one with fifty people but without the doctor; a month later he went to one at the fort on Winter Island without her. The next day they both went out to Castle Hill to Judge Lynde's summer place by invitation.

[1] *Holyoke Diaries*, 48, 49.

[2] *Ibid.*, 50.

Just after this, the doctor saw fit to take a hand in Mary's diary by entering in his writing a description with minute detail of an epidemic which sounds very much like the 'flu.' He seems to connect it with the excessive drought of the year.

Colonel Pickman had a turtle come up from the West Indies during July, and twice the Holyokes joined in the feast. This seems to have set the style, and there was a big 'turtle' at Johnson's, which was a place of public resort on Lynn Plain.[1] There were eighty people present at this party.

Life was a pleasant thing for the young Holyokes. They dined and lunched at the comfortable homes up and down the Main Street. The ladies had lunch parties and visited to and fro. They met the distinguished visitors who came to town. They dined at the Pickmans with Colonel Brattle, and Doctor Bulfinch stayed at their house, as did Colonel Appleton. Their Boston relatives came to visit, and they in turn visited in Boston and Cambridge. Many of their friends were Harvard graduates, and not a few had seen a good bit of the world. They traveled with the official and office-holding class rather than the commercial and seafaring people, though the groups intermingled to some extent. The homes and families with which they seem to have been most familiar were undoubtedly those of Colonel Benjamin Pickman, Judge Benjamin Lynde, Mr. Richard Lechmere, Mr. John Higginson, the Honorable Andrew Oliver, Mr. William Vans, Major Daniel Eppes, Mr. William Pynchon, the Reverend Thomas Barnard, Colonel Epes Sargent, Judge Nathaniel Ropes, Mr. Ropes Amory, Samuel Gardner, Joseph Cabot, and Doctor Ebenezer Putnam.

Sometime previous to 1760 a group of these men had formed a social club, which met at various members' houses to promote an interest in literature and philosophy. What they discussed or how they did it we do not know, but Mrs. Holyoke mentions it twice in her diary with the normal attitude of a wife toward a men's club, 'Jan. 31, 1763 club here,' and, 'Dec. 5, 1763, The Club here.'[1] One can only wish that she had listed those present and told what they discussed, but she does not, and that is the only original entry I have found about the club.[2]

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[1] John Rowe: *Letters and Diary*, 63.

But they were a pretty distinguished group of men in the province, and they organized in 1760 one of the earliest libraries in America for the general use of their members, and such others as might wish to subscribe to the undertaking. Some time in the latter part of March, 1760, they sent out this notice:[3]

> Whereas it has been proposed to set on foot subscriptions for founding & endowing in the Town of Salem a handsome Library of valuable Books, we whose names are underwritten apprehending the same may be of very considerable use & benefit under proper regulations, do hereby declare ourselves severally willing to afford our respective assistance provided the Terms of subscription shall be agreable to which end we agree & engage to meet at the House of Mrs Hanah Prat next Monday evening being the last of this Instant at 6 o'clock there to discuss & determine upon the properest & best methods for effecting a desirable purpose
>
> subscribers
>
> B. Pickman
> Ich. Plaisted
> Thos. Barnard
> S. Curwen
> Nath'l. Ropes
> Timo. Orne
> Eben Putnam
> S. Higginson
> Wm. Pynchon
> E. A. Holyoke
> W. Walter

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[1] *Holyoke Diaries*, 57, 60.

[2] See Curwen: *Journal*, 18.

[3] *Curwen Papers*, Essex Institute.

> The meeting was according held on Monday eve. Mch. 31. 1760. at which time the following Paper was drawn up & signed.
>
> Salem March 31. 1760
>
> we the subscribers, sensible of the Publick advantage of having a well chosen Library in this Town agree to form ourselves into a society for that purposes, & hereby promise to pay to Stephen Higginson Esq. the sum set against our names respectively,
>
> . . . .
>
> either in cash, Bills of Exchange or Books agreable to the society at the sterling Cost charges, the money & Bills to be laid out in in Books in London conformable to a list agreed on by the society, the whole to remain deposited forever in some room in this Town provided by the society for this purpose, to the sole use of ourselves, Heirs or assigns in the manner following viz
>
> That each five Guineas shall intitle the subscriber to be or make one Proprietor & member and also to one vote. And all further regulations we defer to the determination of the society hereafter

Benj. Pickman	Twenty Guineas	William Browne	Five Guineas
Timo. Orne	Ten Guineas	W. Walter	five more
S. Curwen	Ten Guineas	Joseph Blaney	five
Steph'^{n} Higgenson	five ——	James Jeffry for Wm Jeffry	five
Eben Putnam	five		
Joseph Bowditch	five	Richard Derby jr	five
Sam'l Barnard	five	Dan. King	five
Nath'l. Ropes	five	Sam'l Gardner jr	five
E. A. Holyoke	five	Thos. Barnard	five
W. Walter	five	Sam. Gardner	five
William Pynchon	five	Benj. Pickman jr	five
Will. Vans	five	Francis Cabot	five
John Nutting jr	five	Joseph Cabot	five
Sam Barton jr.	five	W. Epes	five
		A. oliver jr —	five

It is noticeable that only one man who signed the call for the meeting failed to subscribe; that was Ichabod Plaisted, Esq., who had been chosen to the Council when Colonel Pickman resigned and had been in poor health since his return from the Ticonderoga campaign in 1756[1] and died in 1762. He deserves more than passing mention, if for no other reason than that small mention of him is found in the records. Colonel Plaisted was a well-loved man in the town and regarded with great esteem by the officers of the regiment he commanded for some twenty years. He was a cheerful, kindly, tranquil man who hated adulation. He never pushed himself forward, but was always on hand when real work was to be done.[1] The other name conspicuous by its absence was that of Benjamin Lynde, justice of the Supreme Court and later chief justice of the province. He would have been an ornament to any such gathering, and why he was not among those who joined is not easily explainable. The only entry in his diary for the year is a mention of the loss of his son-in-law's house in the great Boston fire ten days before,[2] and he was probably in Boston when the meeting was held.

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[1] *Lynde Diaries*, 181, 187, 188.

There were plenty of men of distinction present. Benjamin Pickman, who headed the list, was the distinguished merchant and fisherman whose skill in managing his fisheries made him rich and prominent. He had been a leader in the Louisburg crusade, often a selectman, justice of the Superior Court, member of the governor's council, and colonel of the Essex Regiment. He was a sprightly and entertaining man, fond of telling stories about the witchcraft delusion and the early days of the province,[3] good company always, and welcome where gentlemen met to talk.

Timothy Orne was the great merchant of the day, with ships going to the West Indies and European ports. He had been a sea captain, but his beautifully kept ledgers [4] bear testimony to an orderly and methodical mind, and he must have been interested in learning for its own sake.

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[1] *Boston Gazette*, Dec. 20, 1762.

[2] *Lynde Diaries*, 187.

[3] John Adams: *Diary*, Nov. 9, 1771.

[4] Essex Institute MS.

His son married the daughter of William Pynchon, the leading lawyer of the town.[1]

William Pynchon was a descendant of the famous Deacon William Pynchon, who founded Springfield, and there he was born, but he early came to Salem to read law in the office of Mitchell Sewall, then clerk of the Superior Court.[2] He became a leader of the Essex bar, and was well liked by his associates. He was generous and hospitable, and the lawyers and judges spent their evenings agreeably at his house. 'Punch, wine, bread and cheese, apples, pipes and tobacco' is John Adams's terse description of such an evening.[3] His wife was the daughter of his patron, Mitchell Sewall, so he was connected with the most distinguished family in the city. Little of Hawthorne's characterization of Judge Pynchon fits him.

Samuel Curwen, another of the heavy subscribers, was a descendant of the great merchant of the previous century, George Corwin, and a grandson of Jonathan Corwin of the witchcraft days. He was impost officer for Essex County and later a judge of the Admiralty Court.[4] Confirmed supporter of the prerogative, he would naturally take the tory side. After a long exile in England, he died in Salem at an advanced age. His wife was the sister of Chambers Russell of Charlestown.[5] He was a scholar of fine literary taste and a lover of his country, even if he did take the wrong side.

William Walter, who gave five guineas and then thought better of it and gave five more, was a Boston man living in Salem as one of the custom house officials. He was a man of a religious turn of mind, and soon left to study for the ministry, but not before he had fallen under the charms of Lydia Lynde, Judge Lynde's daughter, to whom he was married in 1766. Their first child was named Lynde Walter, and Mrs. Holyoke's father and mother were the sponsors at the christening.[1] Mr. Walter became the rector of Trinity Church, Boston, in 1768, and an exile with other tories in 1776.

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[1] *Diary of William Pynchon,* IX.

[2] *Ibid.*, v.

[3] Adams: *Diary*, Nov. 5, 1766.

[4] Curwen: *Journal*, 9.

[5] *Ibid.*, 24.

Of the group two were doctors, Doctor Holyoke and Doctor Ebenezer Putnam. Doctor Holyoke was a distinguished scientist apart from his medical work. He was a charter member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the first president of the Massachusetts Medical Society. He lived to extreme old age, and for seventy-five years averaged eleven professional visits a day. It is said that there was not a house in Salem which he had not visited professionally.[2] Doctor Putnam originated in Danvers, but he became a member of the First Church and was chosen presiding elder on the death of Judge Ropes.[3] He was a friend of Doctor Holyoke and a man of high standing.

Stephen Higginson deserves more than a casual mention. He was a grandson of the Reverend John Higginson, so long the minister of the First Church, and of Major Stephen Sewall, from whom his name probably came. He was a leading promoter of the library scheme and probably purchased the first supply of books.[4] Though a merchant, he was also keeper of a shop which included a stock of books, and he seems to have had distinct literary tastes. He hardly lived long enough to enjoy the library, as he was taken ill and died in Newbury the following year. His wife, Elizabeth Cabot Higginson, continued his share in the library in her own name, and in business got into serious trouble from selling tea at the unpopular moment.[5]

Among the group Nathaniel Ropes stood very high.

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[1] John Rowe: *Diary*, 18, 110, 146.

[2] *Holyoke Diaries*, x.

[3] Felt, 1st, 492.

[4] Felt, 2d, 11, 31.

[5] Tapley: *Salem Imprints*, 224.

Trained as a lawyer, he later rose to a judgeship in the Superior Court, and when seriously ill of smallpox his death was hastened by an attack on his house by the mob, which resented his pro-government tendencies. His wife was a fine woman, very pretty and genteel.[1]

Another member of the group attached to the loyalist faction was Andrew Oliver, Jr., son of the secretary of the province who was later lieutenant governor, and nephew of Peter Oliver, later the chief justice. Of the latter John Adams said he was the best-bred gentleman of all the judges and no coarse jest ever escaped his lips.[2] Andrew was no doubt of the same stamp, and of all this distinguished family was the only one to remain in Massachusetts during the Revolution.[3]

Of the two Barnards, Samuel had come to Salem from Deerfield many years before on marrying a daughter of Timothy Lindall, but he continued to live there and acquired a large property. He was interested in all good works and would naturally have helped with the new library. When he died in 1763, he left fifty pounds to the poor of Salem and bequests of several hundred pounds for various purposes in his native town of Deerfield. He held many town offices and was a justice of the Court of General Sessions.[4]

Thomas Barnard was the minister of the First Church. He was born in Andover and was graduated from Harvard College in 1732. According to Eliot's *Biographical Dictionary* there were more people of refinement and intelligence in his congregation at this time than in any similar congregation in the province. He was a liberal in religion, but took no active part in the Revolution and died in August, 1776. He was the father of the minister of the North

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[1] Adams: *Diary*, Nov. 9, 1771.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Jones: *Loyalists of Massachusetts*, 222.

[4] Felt, 1st, 461.

Church who helped to prevent an outbreak in the affair at the North Bridge.[1] The younger Barnard signed the famous address to Governor Hutchinson, but later repudiated it and took a discreet and patriotic part in the Revolution.

Joseph Bowditch was the son of Captain Joseph Bowditch, the sea captain, and seems to have been a merchant himself. He was a young man and had recently married Sarah Gardner, the daughter of Jonathan Gardner.[2] He was not a direct ancestor of the famous Nathaniel, and left only one son, who died unmarried.

William Vans was a shopkeeper, and his wife was daughter of the elder Nutting, the schoolmaster. That is probably why he came down from Boston, where he was born, to settle in Salem. He was affable and conversational — a good address was his distinguishing talent.[3] He was a great friend of Samuel Curwen,[4] and was early tainted with loyalist leanings, but he abjured that faith and later represented the town in the General Court. No doubt his connection with the younger Nutting, who was collector of the port and a crown officer, drove him toward the loyalist faction. Nutting married a daughter of Benjamin Pickman and died in Jamaica before the war began. The other subscribers were mostly of the merchant group.

Thirty-two numbered shares in the library were duly issued, and provision made for the issue of more as suitable persons applied, and very soon those persons whom you would expect came in. The library was evidently quite active till the cataclysm of the Revolution put a stop to such quiet intellectual activity. The following changes

[1] See page 357.

[2] *Gardner Memorial*, 76, 77.

[3] Bentley, II, 224.

[4] Letter to Curwen, E.I.H.C., LVIII, 228.

took place up to May, 1775, and then nothing happened for nearly nine years. The following transfers are interesting as showing changes in families and the names of other persons of intellectual tastes in Salem:

		Number of Shares
1761 July 25	John Crowninshield by Assig^{mt} from W. Walter (N^{o} 14)	One +
1761 July 25	John Prince. in his own Right N^{o} 33	One
1762 may 24	Jon^{a} Gardner j^{r} by assgnment from my Father N^{o} 25	one
1762 may 24	Benj^{a} Lynde in his own Right — N^{o} 34 - - -	one
1762 may 24	Benj^{a} Goodhue in his own Right N^{o} 35 - - -	one
May 31	Eliza Higginson in right of my late Husband Steph^{n} Higginson N^{o} 8 - -	one +
1763 May 15	Jon^{a} Orne by Assignm^{t} from Daniel King (N^{o} 2A)	one +
" 23	Peter Frye by Assignm^{t} from Ben Pickman Esq (N^{o} 1 —	One +
23	Jn^{o} Appleton by Assigm^{t} from Joseph Barnard Esq^{r} (N^{o} 11.	One +
1764 May 23th	Philip Godfrid Kast by Assignment from Sam^{l} Curwen Assignee of Will^{m} Vans Esq^{r} N^{o} 17 - - -	One
1764 Nov. 26	Joseph Dowse by assignment from Will^{m} Walter, N^{o} 15	One
1766 Nov^{r} 24.	Tim^{o} Pickering jun^{r} by Assignment from the Rev^{d} Thomas Barnard. N^{o} 26 - - -	
1767 Nov^{r} 2d	John Appleton by Assignment from Eunice Crownenshield, N^{o} 14	One
1769 May 23	Russell Wyer by Assignment from M^{r} Jn^{a} Appleton	One +
23d	Henry Gardner in Rights of my late Father Samuel Gardner Esq^{r} N^{o} 27	One
1770	Richard Routh by Assignment from Cap^{t} Jon^{a} Orne, N^{o} 24	+
1767 Dec^{r}	Jacob Ashton by Assignment from Eunice Crownenshield (N^{o} 18	
1770 May 5	W^{m} Pickman by assignment from Benj^{a} Pickman Esq^{r} N^{o} 2	One
	Nathan Goodale in Right of Sam Orne a Minor for whom s^{d} Goodale is Guardian	One

		Number of Shares
1771 May	And^{w} Dalglish by Assignment from Richard Routh N^{o} 24	One
	Tho^{s} Poynton by Assigment from W^{m} Pynchon N^{o} 16	One
1773 My 19	Joseph Hiller by Assignment from Rus. Wyer (N^{o} 27)	one
1774 May 19th	Thomas Barnard junr in right of my wife Lois Gardner who purchased of the widow Eliza Higginson — N^{o} 8 - -	one
1774 May 19th	Clark Guy Pickman in Right of Benj^{a} Pickman Esq Deceased — N^{o} 3 - -	
	Richard Routh by Assignment from Abigail Eppes N^{o} 31	One
	The Members of the Library by Assignment from C G & Wm Pickman being one of the Four original Rights of Benj^{a} Pickman Esq^{r} dec^{d} N^{o} 4	
1775 May 24	Arch^{d} Putnam by Assignment from D^{r} Putnam for N^{o} 9	One

Though there was probably no intent to keep the library within the tory group, the list of names suggests that that faction predominated, as might have been expected in a settled community, and the cost of a share, one guinea, tended to exclude some men of lesser means who would have benefited thereby, though the shareholders were doubtless generous in extending their privileges. The Reverend James Diman, of the East Church, does not appear in the list. He was a man of grave and awe-inspiring mien, a stern Puritan of the old school who greatly disapproved of the liberalism of Doctor Bentley, and he may well have disapproved of the circulation of books among the people whom he served for over fifty years.

It was no prejudice against liberalism that kept Doctor William McGilchrist out. It was more likely lack of the necessary guinea. He appears to have been a well-bred man, sturdy and sincere in his convictions and never retiring when attacked. He built up a substantial church of the Episcopal faith, and never failed to pray for the king throughout the Revolution till his death in 1780. Only one other Episcopal clergyman refused to desert his post in the whole commonwealth. He was a man of singular integrity of character and a friendly heart.[1]

Another most picturesque and interesting character of this period was Deacon Timothy Pickering. His son later wrote of him: 'The tenor of my father's life was directed by his opinion of the equal rights of all mankind. Hence the dishonest or improper conduct of men possessed of power or wealth was censured without reserve while he was disposed to apologize for the poor and uninformed. All his actions showed that he deemed virtue alone entitled to respect.' This was probably true, but he was perhaps over-inclined, like a good many twentieth-century persons, to judge men of perfectly honorable character harshly because they possessed wealth or power. It was this characteristic which no doubt unloosed the deepest vials of wrath that the contemporary writer of the pasquinade previously quoted could pour upon his head in the following scandalous doggerel: [2]

> What Man is he that hither bounds his way
> With solemn Phiz as tho' he meant to pray —
> T. P——g is his name, a Man that spends
> His time in wrangling for his Dear Self Ends
> But lest the world should guess the very Cause
> He swears he fights for God Almighty Laws
> Ascend the Stage my Friend & do not Fear
> No one shall touch you while you tarry here,
> Are you the Man to whom God did impart
> His Holy Spirit to your hard'ned heart?
> Indeed I am as I remember well
> The very Day in which he came to dwell

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[1] Curwen: *Journal.*

[2] *B. F. Browne Papers*, Essex Institute.

In my poor Soul, & since that happy time
Ive spent my days in serving powers divine.
Thou Hypocrite how dos't thou dare to tell
Such Cursed Lies which sure did Come from Hell,
Instead of Serving the Almighty God
You spend your time poor Horses shoes to rob,

The commentator of the next generation says 'I have no idea he was so bad a man as he is depicted but like a good many others who think themselves "Godward all right" and who are "manward rather twistical."'

A good example of the sort of thing the worthy deacon did not hesitate to do often is his open letter to Captain James Bowditch, dated February 1, 1759,[1] in which he rubs salt into all the local sores with a vigorous hand. This is a sample paragraph:

> Mr. Barnard's church are very angry with me for reproving a trespass but are very easy with their brother Pickman who has committed it. They seem much concerned for his body and credit but little concerned for his soul. He gives a great deal to the poor, it's true, but then I think he hurts ten times as many with his rum.

This letter provides two and a half pages of what the deacon calls 'a catalogue of sins,' in which he strikes at the ministers, magistrates, and laymen rather impartially. He ends up by saying:

> Mr. Bowditch there is no need of looking into the scriptures to prove the doctrine of original sin [and] Take a hint from your friend,
>
> Timo. Pickering

The deacon's vigorous style incited reprisals, and he got them, but they never interfered with his happiness. He was of that type of reformer which has been the glory of New England and the greatest annoyance to their neighbors, but always picturesque and always interesting.[1] With John Adams's pen picture of him in 1766 as he appeared as foreman of a jury, we will leave him:

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[1] *Salem Miscel., MSS.*, 1.

> This man famous for his writings in newspapers concerning church order and government, they tell me is very rich; his appearance is perfectly plain, like a farmer; his smooth combed locks flow behind him like Deacon Cushings though not so gray; has a quick eye like ——; he has an hypocritical demure on his face like Deacon Foster; his mouth makes a semicircle when he puts on that devout face." [2]

One of the men who took over a share in the Social Library soon after it started was John Appleton, merchant, the great-great-grandfather of the present writer. He was born in Cambridge, a son of the Reverend Nathaniel Appleton, who was a fellow of Harvard College for many years.[3] Except for a few years during the Revolution when he went to Haverhill, he lived his entire life in Salem in a house which stood on the south side of Essex Street somewhat east of Barton Square, and apparently had a store in the front of his house. Though gentlemanly in his manners, he was more a man of business than of letters.[4] Always a good citizen, he was held in high regard in the community.

It was through John Appleton that one of the most illustrious Americans of the eighteenth century came to Salem. To him was apprenticed by his guardian Joshua Simonds, probably of the Simonds family of Salem, Benjamin Thompson, an orphan lad of Woburn. The lad was then thirteen or fourteen years old and regarded by at least one of his neighbors as 'active, good-natured and sensible.' [5] He stayed in Salem for a year or two. Mr. Si-

[1] *Letters to Congregational Churches*, E.I.H.C., XLIX, 85, 136.

[2] Adams: *Diary*, Nov. 4, 1766.

[3] *Essex Antiquarian*, IV, 4.

[4] Bentley, IV, 440.

[5] Curwen: *Journal*, 316.

monds evidently tried to do his duty toward his ward, as the following letter to Mr. Appleton would indicate:

> To Mr. John Appleton in Salam.
>
> Medford, June Ye 26: 1767.
>
> M^r^ Appelton, Sir, these lins left us all well, as I hope they may find you. Thompson has wrote to me diuers times about his affairs, and he saith he is Contented, and hath Sum priuyledge of trade for him Self, and that you, Sir, would let him haue Sum fish to Ship, if I would send you an order for them. acordingly I send one inclosed. Pray Sir, if he Shipeth any thing, See it insured in a proper manner. Sir, if Ben Sends to Sea and dont make Pay, let me haue Notis of it. Pray, Sir, tak Spechal Care about the Company he keeps, and I should be glad to know the General Run of his behauour, both as to trade and Company: and if you will fauour me with an acount there of, I shal tak is as fauour. As to his Cloath, I Exspect his Mother will giue me and a Count there of. Sir, I hear you liue Shingel as yet, but dont Exspect it will be so long. Sir, Remember me to Ben^{n} and to M^{r} West. No more at this time. So I Remain yours to Serue,
>
> Joshua Simonds

Thompson was destined for a far different career from that of a trader in codfish. He was a scientist by nature, so drifted to Boston, became an itinerant school-teacher, and moved to Rumford, now Concord, New Hampshire. There he married the daughter of Timothy Walker, the distinguished minister. He became acquainted with John Wentworth, governor of New Hampshire, and received substantial favors from him. He returned to Woburn when the Revolution broke out and acted as a spy for General Gage.[1] When the British left Boston, he succeeded in getting to England, where his charming manners ingratiated him with the ministry, and he seems to have had some position to look out for American refugees.[1] He was more interested, however, in currying favor than in taking care of his unfortunate countrymen. Late in the war he was sent to Charleston to command a body of tories known as the 'King's American Dragoons,' who operated in the Carolinas and on Long Island.

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[1] Allen French: *General Gage's Informers*, 126–46.

It was after the war that his fortunes began to rise. He went to Munich in Bavaria and became the trusted adviser of the Elector. He was made commander of the army, and solved the problem of the beggars by rounding them up in military workhouses and treating them with unusual kindness. He built parks and cleared up the city, and in his spare time made extensive experiments on the production and utilization of heat in cooking and in warming houses. He returned several times to London, where he gave much money to the institutions devoted to science and finally organized 'The Royal Institution' at 21 Albemarle Street, glorious for the names of Davy and Faraday. He fell out with his associates and left for France, where he married again and finally died. His publications were voluminous and a real contribution to the advancement of science. At least it is interesting that John Appleton's apprentice boy signed himself twenty years later

> BENJAMIN COUNT OF RUMFORD,
>
> Knight of the Orders of the White Eagle and St. Stanislaus; Chamberlain, Privy Counsellor of State, and Lieutenant-General in the Service of His Most Serene Highness the Elector Palatine, Reigning Duke of Bavaria; Colonel of His Regiment of Artillery, and Commander in Chief of the General Staff of his Army; F.R.S. Acad.R. Hiber. Berol. Elec. Boicoe. Palat. et Amer. Soc.

With its deacons and ministers, judges, lawyers, and merchants, Salem must have been a lively and interesting place in the seventeen-sixties. The communities of which Salem was the center were fully as large and as numerous as those tributary to Boston, the fisheries were far more extensive, and the foreign trade was almost as great. This had brought a great deal of money to town, and its citizens did not consider themselves in the least behind Boston in urban advantages; the fact that rather more people seemed to move from Boston to Salem than the other way would seem to indicate that it was not looked on as a disadvantage to reside in Salem.

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[1] Curwen: *Journal*, 316.

CHAPTER XXII

BUSINESS ACTIVITY AROUND TOWN

This busy little town in 1764 was hardly bigger than the smallest Massachusetts town of today. There were only 4469 people in all, and of these 117 were negroes, slave or free, and 32 were French neutrals. While the number of girls under sixteen exceeded the boys by a hundred, there were 1335 women to only 1050 men. The negroes sometimes ran away, but not so often as those from other nearby towns.[1] They liked to swagger about on holidays, and finally 'it was the mind of the town that means be used to prevent slaves especially on election days (so called) from wearing swords, beating drums and making use of powder.'[2] This probably refers to the 'Slave Election.' The slaves were all allowed a vacation of three days late in May, went off for a grand jollification, and, in imitation of the whites, elected a governor. One of the spots they chose for these parties was on the plain near the Collins house in Danvers.[3]

The number of slaves in Salem was never large, and Deacon Pickering, to his honor be it said, had led the fight against the importation of negroes. He was empowered at one time by the town to file a petition in its name with the General Court against such importation.[4]

While Salem had easy access to the sea, its land communication with Boston was not so easy, and it did not have a direct stage to Boston as early as Portsmouth did, nor did the Portsmouth stages come through Salem. They evidently took the old Bay Road through Ipswich,

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[1] Advertisements in papers.

[2] *Town Records*, May 16, 1768.

[3] *Town Archives*, Felt, 1st, 464.

[4] *Town Records*, March 10, 1755.

Danvers, Peabody, and Saugus. This line began to run with a chair in April, 1761, and enlarged its service in May, 1763. Its advertisements[1] give an idea of the travel sufficiently good to be worth quoting.

Under date of April, 1761:

> For the encouragement of Trade from Portsmouth to Boston
>
> A LARGE STAGE CHAIR
>
> With two good horses well equipped, will be ready by Monday the 20th inst. to start out from Mr. Stavers, innholder, at the sign of the Earl of Halifax, in this town, for Boston, to perform once a week; to lodge at Ipswich the same night; from thence through Medford to Charlestown ferry; to tarry at Charlestown till Thursday morning so as to return to this town the next day; to set out again the Monday following; it will be contrived to carry four persons beside the driver. — The price will be Thirteen Shillings and Six Pence sterling for each person from hence to Boston and at the same rate of conveyance back again.

Under date of May, 1763:

> THE PORTSMOUTH FLYING STAGE COACH
>
> is now finished, which will carry six persons inside; runs with four to six horses; each person to pay 13s. 6d. to Boston, and 4s, 6d, to Newbury. Sets out from the sign of the Earl of Halifax, every Tuesday morning between 7 and 8 o'clock, goes through Newbury to Boston, and will put up at inns on the road where good entertainment and attendance are provided for the passengers in the coach. The subscriber, master of the stage coach, is to be spoke with from Saturday night to Monday night, at Mr. John Stavers', innholder, at the sign of the Earl of Halifax.
>
> BARTHOLOMEW STAVERS

While the roads were comparatively safe for travelers, there were now and again holdups and robberies. In

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[1] Martha Wentworth Suffrew, in *Boston Evening Transcript*, Jan. 8, 1936.

December, 1764, a woman coming to Salem in a chaise was held up by a couple of thugs about six miles out of town. One of them snatched her purse, 'the other drew out a long knife and held it to her breast, threatening her life if she made the least noise,' and so they stole thirty or forty dollars' worth of goods. They did not fare so well when they held up Silsby Dymond between Danvers and Wenham, for he 'resolutely resisted and knock'd both the Fellows down with the Butt-End of his whip and left them bleeding on the ground.' With this episode the worst highway robbery in this vicinity in the sixties ended,[1] for the villains were easily recognized by their broken heads.

There was an abortive effort to start a stage in Salem soon after this, but about 1770 Benjamin Coates, who then kept the Ship Tavern in School (now Washington) Street, gave notice that he had bought a 'new Stage chaise,' which, with the one already running, would be able to carry passengers and bundles every day but Sunday. He must have had quite an outfit, for he advertised five fall back chaises, one fall back curricle, six standing top chairs, and three sulkies to let.[2]

Far more important than communication by land was the communication by water that the aggressive Salem merchants and shipmasters had established with the other coastwise towns and with commercial cities beyond the ocean. The South River was still the real harbor, and the smaller vessels tied up along what is now Front Street, but which was then generally known as Wharf Street because there were wharves on one side and warehouses on the other. Going around the head of the cove where the mouth of the tunnel now is, you could pass along the wharf into Norman Street. The old house now (1936) on the corner is the same that stood there then. Across Norman Street there was a group of small wharves extending around the mouth of Ruck's Creek, which reached up toward Summer Street and the shipyards. This creek was spanned by a bridge with a draw in it.

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[1] *Boston Evening Post*, Dec. 10, 1764, and Jan. 7, 1765.

[2] Rantoul: *Notes on Old Modes of Travel*, E.I.H.C., XI, 19; *Essex Antiquarian*, XII, 49–51.

Going eastward from Wharf Street, old Fish Street led around under the hill where the burying ground still is, with some small wharves at the foot of Central Street, but little else till near the foot of Liberty Street, where there were other small wharves. There was probably a small shipyard at this time where Hawthorne Boulevard now is, and presently was reached Long Wharf or Union Wharf, which stretched out into the harbor to Jeggle's Island from the foot of Union and Herbert Streets.

This was the real waterfront, though there were some small wharves near Major John Turner's old house. Captain Richard Derby had acquired a portion of Winter Island and built a wharf and a warehouse there, but that was an isolated venture. There were also two little wharves near the North Bridge, which was connected with either shore by a causeway. A draw in the bridge allowed the ships built at the shipyard near Frye's mills to pass out to sea.

The Ornes and the Brownes probably did their shipping from Wharf Street, the Derbys and Crowninshields from Union Wharf, and those were the busiest parts of the town. Hogsheads of molasses, casks of indigo, barrels of sugar, and casks of rum and wine would be seen moving from ships to warehouses already piled with bales of English goods lately received, or barrels of salted beef and piles of dry salt codfish ready to ship. Cargoes were coming ashore to the noise of hand-turned windlasses and capstans, while lumber and barrel staves, hickory barrel hoops, firkins, buckets, and all sorts of woodenware went aboard. Cheeses, barrels of pork and beef, and boxes of Yankee notions helped in a small way to make up the cargoes. The little ventures of dozens of men and women were entrusted to faithful captains, who peddled them from port to port to the best advantage of the owners, and brought back something salable in exchange or perhaps even gold or silver currency of foreign mintage in return.

Down at the foot of Becket Street, the famous Becket shipyard was still operating, just where they had built ships for nearly a hundred years and were to continue to do so for nearly a hundred years to come. Up in Ruck's Creek, behind where the post-office now is, the incessant hammering of the caulker's mallets, as they caulked the seams of the little sloops and schooners on the ways, gave the name of 'Knocker's Hole' to the district.[1]

Across the river on Stage Point, where the Naumkeag Mills have stood for nearly a century, there had been stages for drying codfish, and space on the beach for careening and graving vessels. Probably some vessels were being built there as early as 1760. It did not take much paraphernalia to make a shipyard. A sloping beach down which a rough way could be constructed which would run into seven or eight feet of water at high tide, a few crude little sheds where drawings, tools, and materials could be kept dry, and plenty of space to pile lumber, were all that was needed.

But many more things than lumber went into ships. Vast amounts of cordage were required, and Joseph Vincent ran a ropewalk owned by Nathaniel Sparhawk, Jr. This seems to have been the only one in the sixties, but there were two just before the Revolution.[2] The oldest

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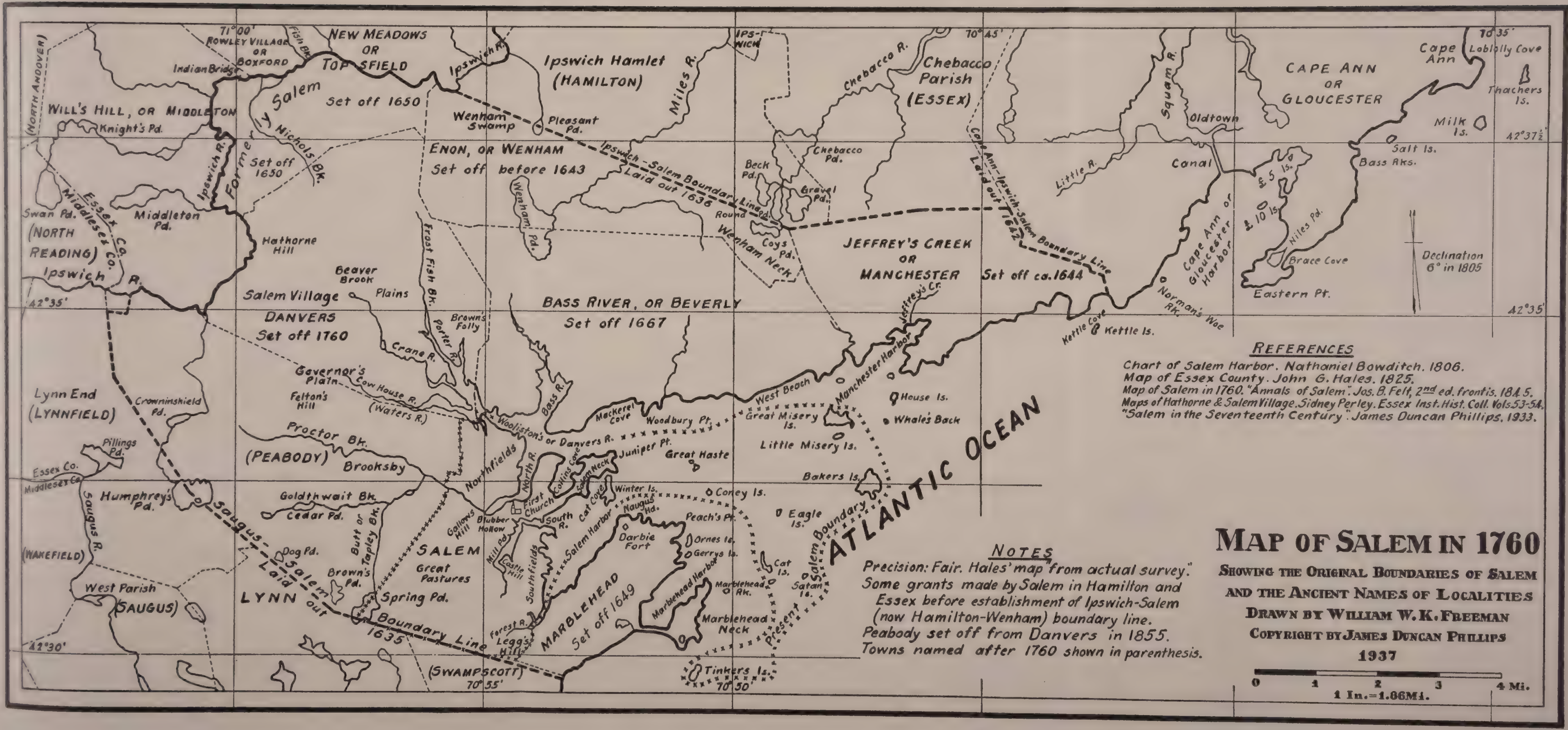
[1] G. Streeter: *Salem Before the Revolution*, E.I.H.C., XXXII, 60.

[2] Felt, 2d, II, 175.



71° 00'
ROWLEY VILLAGE OR BOXFORD
Fish Bk.
NEW MEADOWS OR TOPSFIELD
(NORTH ANDOVER)
Indian Bridge
Ipswich R.
Ipswich Hamlet (HAMILTON)
Miles R.
IPSWICH
70° 45'
Chebacco R.
Chebacco Parish (ESSEX)
Squam R.
10°35'
Cape Ann
Loblolly Cove
CAPE ANN OR GLOUCESTER
Thachers Is.
Formerly Salem
Set off 1650
WILL'S HILL, OR MIDDLETON
Knight's Pd.
Nichols Bk.
Wenham Swamp
Pleasant Pd.
Oldtown
Milk Is.
42°37½'
Salt Is.
Bass Rks.
Ipswich R.
Set off 1650
ENON, OR WENHAM
Set off before 1643
Ipswich-Salem Boundary Line Laid out 1636
Beck Pd.
Chebacco Pd.
Gravel Pd.
Cape Ann-Ipswich-Salem Boundary Line Laid out 1642
Little R.
Canal
£.5 Is.
£.10 Is.
Niles Pd.
Swan Pd.
Essex Co.
Middlesex Co.
Middleton Pd.
(NORTH READING)
Wenham Pd.
Frost Fish Bk.
Round Pd.
Coys Pd.
Wenham Neck
Cape Ann or Gloucester Harbor
Hathorne Hill
Ipswich R.
JEFFREY'S CREEK OR MANCHESTER
Set off ca. 1644
Brace Cove
Declination 6° in 1805
42°35'
Beaver Brook
Plains
Salem Village
DANVERS Set off 1760
BASS RIVER, OR BEVERLY Set off 1667
Brown's Folly
Porter R.
Eastern Pt.
Norman's Woe Rk.
42°35'
Kettle Cove
Kettle Is.
Jeffrey's Cr.
Crane R.
Manchester Harbor
Governor's Plain
Cow House R. (Waters R.)
Felton's Hill
Lynn End (LYNNFIELD)
Crowninshield Pd.
Bass R.
West Beach
Mackerel Cove
House Is.
Great Misery Is.
Whale's Back
Woolliston's or Danvers R.
Woodbury Pt.
Proctor Bk.
Pillings Pd.
Juniper Pt.
Great Haste
Little Misery Is.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
(PEABODY)
Brooksby
Northfields
North R.
Collins Cove
Salem Neck
Essex Co.
Middlesex Co.
Bakers Is.
Humphrey's Pd.
Goldthwait Bk.
First Church
Cat Cove
Winter Is.
Coney Is.
Cedar Pd.
Gallows Hill
Blubber Hollow
South R.
Naugus Hd.
Peach's Pt.
Eagle Is.
Saugus R.
Butt or Tapley Bk.
Dog Pd.
SALEM
Great Pastures
Mill Pd.
Salem Harbor
Darbie Fort
Ornes Is.
Gerrys Is.
Salem Boundary
(WAKEFIELD)
Saugus-Salem Laid out
Castle Hill
Southfields
Cat Is.
Present
Brown's Pd.
Spring Pd.
Marblehead Harbor
Marblehead Rk.
Satan Is.
West Parish (SAUGUS)
LYNN
MARBLEHEAD Set off 1649
Marblehead Neck
Boundary Line 1635
Forest R.
Legg's Hill
42°30'
(SWAMPSCOTT)
70° 55'
Tinkers Is.
70° 50'
0
1
2
3
4 Mi.
1 In.=1.86Mi.

MAP OF SALEM IN 1760

SHOWING THE ORIGINAL BOUNDARIES OF SALEM AND THE ANCIENT NAMES OF LOCALITIES

DRAWN BY WILLIAM W. K. FREEMAN

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REFERENCES

Chart of Salem Harbor. Nathaniel Bowditch. 1806.
Map of Essex County. John G. Hales. 1825.
Map of Salem in 1760. "Annals of Salem". Jos. B. Felt, 2nd ed. frontis. 1845.
Maps of Hathorne & Salem Village. Sidney Perley. Essex Inst. Hist. Coll. Vols 53-54.
"Salem in the Seventeenth Century". James Duncan Phillips. 1933.

NOTES

Precision: Fair. Hales' map "from actual survey."
Some grants made by Salem in Hamilton and Essex before establishment of Ipswich-Salem (now Hamilton-Wenham) boundary line.
Peabody set off from Danvers in 1855.
Towns named after 1760 shown in parenthesis.

one, which later became Vincent's, was east of the Common, and still later was extended on piers into Collins Cove. It was operated for many years by Mr. Joseph Vincent; Thomas Briggs, who married his daughter,[1] later replaced it with a new one. Another early ropewalk was just east of English Street. These early ropewalks were made of old buildings pieced together, and in many cases ropes were made by 'outdoor spinners' who worked in the open.[2]

Sailmaking was apparently done by journeymen working for the shipbuilders or the merchants. It does not seem to have been a separate business. One of the sailmakers was the infamous Joseph Moses, who later made a lot of money during the Revolution and deserted his family.[3]

There were also, no doubt, little shops for making articles for the ships jumbled in with the shipyards and the wharves. All sorts of hardware was needed, and the blacksmiths hammered it out from the bar iron imported from overseas. Joseph Clough, Benjamin Goodhue, and Jonathan Phelps were probably working at this trade.[4]

Retail stores were perhaps less numerous than now, and the alluring shop windows not so fascinating, but the ladies did not have to go to Boston for their shopping. Perhaps the chief drygoods store was John Appleton's, on the south side of Essex Street near Barton Square. It may not be very informing to the modern lady, but Appleton offered among other things 'Cloutings, Ticklenburg, Tammies, Shalloons, Calimancoes, Sprig'd Mecklenburgs, Miffinets (plain and sprig'd) white Tabby, Mens soles, and Womens Satten Hatts,' as well as 'Paper, Combs, Ink, Glass, Pepper, Bohea Tea and Kippen's Snuff.'[5] The

[1] Bentley, III, 15.

[2] Bentley, II, 298.

[3] Bentley, I, 210.

[4] Felt, 2d, II, 155.

[5] *Boston Gazette*, May 21, 1764.

spelling is his own, but only a trifling part of the list is given, and, 'N.B. His customers need not apprehend any infection in the goods as they never was landed in Boston!'

Another shop of the same sort was kept by Stephen Higginson and then by his wife. He lived on Essex Street a little west of Mr. Appleton,[1] but his store is said to have been opposite the head of Lafayette Street.[2] At any rate, at one time he was selling rum by the hogshead![3]

George Deblois operated a small chain-store system, for he also had a shop in Boston. His assortment was greater, for he ran from Bohea tea to neat steel house-jacks and from brown sugar to fish hooks and goose shot, taking in French indigo, Poland starch, and Bristol crown glass on the way. He ends with, and particularly emphasizes, 'Choice Velvet Corks. N.B. Ready money only.'[4]

Opposite the main road to Marblehead, which was near the corner of North Street, Samuel Cotnam kept a similar collection, but he added Philadelphia flour and bar iron and offered 'short credit.'[5] A little farther up, Priscilla Manning sold crimson breeches patterns, black Barcelona handkerchiefs, Lynn-made calamanco and silk shoes, stone necklaces, etc. — evidently the luxuries of life.[6]

Way downtown in a shop opposite the head of Orange Street, Andrew Dalglish also sold Scotch and English goods, but he had less of a gift for advertising his wares.[7]

Jacob Ashton apparently did a wholesale business, for he was offering French indigo by the hundred casks, not to mention Philadelphia flour and iron.[8] Robert Alcock

[1] Pickman: *Houses in Salem*, E.I.H.C., VI, 108.

[2] Streeter: *Salem Before the Revolution*, E.I.H.C., XXXII, 63.

[3] *Boston Gazette*, Jan. 22, 1759.

[4] *Ibid.*, May 17, 1762.

[5] *Ibid.*, July 30, 1764.

[6] Streeter: *Salem Before the Revolution*, E.I.H.C., XXXII, 62.

[7] *Boston Evening Post*, June 17, 1765.

[8] *Ibid.*, April 28, 1765.

was also importing English goods,[1] and William Vans was keeping a shop somewhere, though he did not advertise at this time.

The literary instincts of the town were attended to chiefly by Mascoll Williams, who as early as 1755 had started a bookshop about opposite the end of Crombie Street at the 'Sign of the Gilt Bible.' Later he was postmaster and a strong patriot. In January, 1767, he was announcing Tans'ur's *Royal Melody Complete*, said to contain ten of the most approved tunes from Williams's *Psalmody*, and a month later, a good assortment of books and stationery wares just imported from London.[2]

One of Williams's customers was Timothy Orne; he billed him quite a lot of books, including a Greek Testament, and for binding a Bible.[3] Evidently Timothy divided his trade, for his own brother, Samuel Orne, was also a bookseller and sold him about the same time a Greek lexicon and Young's *Night Thoughts*.[4]

There were two drug stores in town, one of which was operated by John Prince just below the corner of Washington Street on the north side of Essex. Evidently patent medicines were not invented in the nineteenth century, for he advertises 'Jackson's Balsom of Life, Turlington's ditto, Anderson's ditto, Lockyer's ditto and Doctor Hooper's Female ditto,' as well as smelling-salts and lancets and bottles and spices and all sorts of medical apparatus.[5] As he had the same location as Doctor Nathaniel Dabney, he may have used the 'Head of Hippocrates,' which is still preserved in the Essex Institute, as his sign. Doctor Dabney succeeded to the business before the Revolution, and his harmless Greek head no doubt survived when all the Lion and Crown signs were torn down and burned at the beginning of the Revolution.

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[1] *Boston Evening Post*, June 23, 1767.

[2] *Ibid.*, Jan. 12, Feb. 16, 1767.

[3] *Orne MSS.*, VIII, 9, Essex Institute.

[4] *Timothy Orne MSS.*, Essex Institute; Tapley: *Salem Imprints*, 171.

[5] *Boston Gazette*, Feb. 15, 1762.

Philip Godfried Kast opened an apothecary shop a little below the Friends' Meeting-House in 1761, and by 1764 had all the quack medicines that Doctor Prince carried and a few more besides, 'Chynsical and Galenical,' at the sign of the 'Lyon and Mortar.' He sold 'Anodyne Necklaces for the easy breeding of children's teeth,' 'Blood Stones,' and 'Teeth-Drawers of different sorts.' One feels relieved that he ends with 'White Sugar Candy and Salt Petre.' [1]

It is rather a relief to turn from these horrors to John Towzel, goldsmith, even if we only learn of his wares through the advertisement for the thief who broke into his shop. Stone earrings set in gold, cipher stone buttons set in silver, sixty pairs of silver shoe and knee buckles, strings of coral beads, part of a gold necklace, and half a dozen teaspoons with the maker's mark 'I. T.' were some of the things he lost. John Andrew, who had a shop at the 'Sign of the Gold Cup,' near Long Wharf Lane, now Union Street, was the rival goldsmith at the lower end of the town.[2] Whether the Towzel theft scared Richard Cranch, the watchmaker, who was John Adams's wife's brother-in-law, out of Salem is not clear, but three weeks later he moved to Boston. He was careful to announce that his customers in Salem and Marblehead could send their watches to him free by Mr. Boardman, who went up regularly three times a week in the stage-chaise.[3]

This chaise business was coming on, and, in 1768, James Bott, coach and chaise-maker of London, 'informed the public' that he had set up in business at the 'Sign of the

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[1] *Boston Gazette*, Jan. 23, 1764.

[2] *Boston Evening Post*, Nov. 9, 1767.

[3] *Ibid.*, Nov. 23, 1767.

Saddle' in Salem, so gentlemen need not send home for any such articles. His notice ends: 'N.B. The said Bott keeps all sorts of saddles.'[1]

Of course the ladies of the time did not forget personal appearance, and William Lang, apparently the barber, gave notice that he had hired a special person from Europe so that 'Ladies shall be attended to in the polite construction of rolls such as may tend to raise their heads to any pitch they desire.'[2] Elizabeth Porter Sanders from Boston says she will make gowns, hats, cloaks, and riding-habits and will wait on ladies at their houses, in spite of the fact that she confesses to being a 'mantua maker.'[3]

Thus the wants of the good people were provided for. The ladies fluttered in and out of shops and told their friends about the lovely things John Appleton has just imported from London, and that George Deblois had the best spices, but they didn't like to trade with him because the store was untidy or the clerks not so gracious as John Appleton's apprentice (the future Count Rumford). They went to Priscilla Manning (and paid more) because they wanted to encourage her. No doubt Mary Vial went to John Prince or Doctor Dabney because she did not like the German man (Kast). The town was as homey as it has always been, and I have no doubt if you had walked down street in 1765 you would have recognized the ladies because they looked so like their great-great-granddaughters and acted as they do too.

[1] *Boston Evening Post*, Feb. 1, 1768. [2] Felt, 2d, II, 154. [3] *Ibid.*, 173.

CHAPTER XXIII

MUTTERINGS OF REVOLUTION

From the time that Winthrop and his colleagues transferred the original charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company to America, the most independent minds had sturdily maintained the virtual independence of the colony from the British government. They acknowledged a British king, but so far as the conduct of their own affairs went, they asked neither help nor counsel, and they abhorred dictation. The effectiveness of this position ebbed and flowed from generation to generation. It was strongest under the Commonwealth and weakest under Andros, but as long as the colony was weak and far away there was little friction. The struggle gained strength after the new charter was granted. The long contest over the salary of the governor was part of it. The close affiliation of the long French wars tended to bring the issue to the front. The quarrel over who should pay for the war, coupled with the arbitrary government of George the Third produced the inevitable conflict. If you held that the British government had no right to regulate colonial trade, it followed that evasion of the laws of trade was not rightly smuggling, and that opposition to crown officers was not lawlessness. The crown officers themselves were the lawbreakers. Moreover, the weakness of enforcement of these laws during a long period had practically given consent to the disobedience of them.

The search warrants which permitted the customs officers to enter on private property and search for smuggled goods were called 'writs of assistance,' and were issued by the courts. These writs all lapsed with the death of the king and new writs had to be issued. With the death of George the Second, this question came to the front in 1760. Charles Paxton, surveyor of the customs, directed James Cockle, the collector in Salem, to petition for new writs in November, 1760. It was known that Stephen Sewall of the old Salem family, then chief justice, doubted their legality, but Sewall died a month later and Thomas Hutchinson, who held different views, was made chief justice. The merchants of Salem with some from Boston employed Oxenbridge Thatcher and James Otis, two of the leading lawyers of the colony, to oppose the petition.[1] Otis made a brilliant argument, which has been saved for us in part by the notes of John Adams, and the court took the question under advisement. No decision was probably ever rendered. Governor Bernard says writs were granted in as effectual form as in England,[2] but John Adams says that though they were granted, the officers of the crown never dared to use them.[3] He further says that 'American Independence was then and there born,' [4] which can only mean by the protest of Salem merchants.

This case is interesting in Salem history because it originated with the petition of a Salem officer for a writ to be used in Salem. It would be interesting if the names of the Salem merchants who joined with some from Boston in employing Otis could be identified, but they are nowhere recorded. We suspect, however, you would have found the names of Derby, Orne, Crowninshield, Ingersoll, Williams, Neal, Gardner, Peele, Goodhue, Hodges, and Cabot on that list, among others. Deacon Pickering would also have been among the protestants, but the conservatives like Browne, Lynde, Pickman, Curwen, Ropes, and Pynchon would have held aloof. Regardless of the decision, the case was really settled, for the writs if issued were not used, and the brilliant arguments based on the fundamentals of human liberty brought the country one step further toward the assertion of independence.[1]

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[1] Tudor: *Life of James Otis*, 53-57.

[2] *MS. Letters*, III, 73.

[3] Tudor: *James Otis*, 86, note.

[4] *Ibid.*, 61.

The Salem Town Records from 1760 to 1764 are missing, so we have no official record of the proceedings during that period, but it was just then that the division of sentiment between those who were tending toward a more vigorous stand for American rights and those who were drifting toward the strengthening of the imperial power began. The trouble over the writs of assistance was by no means the sum total of the friction over the import duties. James Cockle seems to have been appointed collector of the customs in 1761, succeeding Richard Lechmere. He was the first of the crown officers appointed apparently with the idea of really enforcing the laws of trade, and he, it seems, tried to live up to his duties, which did not make him popular, though you find him associating with the best families.[2] First, Jonathan Pue was searcher and surveyor, and later, Joseph Dowse became surveyor.[3]

In April, Cockle seized the *Industrious Apprentice*, a schooner of fifty-eight tons, which had left for the West Indies under Captain Robert Elwell the previous autumn. She was bringing in, among other things, two chests of tea, ten coils of cordage, and seven bolts of duck, but seems to have been seized before she entered.[4] She was probably condemned in the Vice-Admiralty Court in Boston on April 21. Captain Elwell was associated frequently with ventures of the Williams family, and this episode may have started their objections to crown interference, later so marked.

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[1] *Spared Record of Salem Custom House*, E.I.H.C., II, 169–77.

[2] *Holyoke Diaries*, 53, 55.

[3] Felt, 2d, II, 380.

[4] *Boston Gazette*, April 20, 1761.

A few months later, Cockle seized the schooner *Barcelona* of forty-five tons, which had entered from Monte Cristo under Captain Daniel Martin. She was probably a Gloucester boat and seems to have been freed, for she made other voyages.[1]

These episodes were heartily disliked. The merchants resented interference with a trade conducted in the same way in which they had conducted it for half a century, even if it was against some law. They had never paid any attention to these laws, but Cockle was going to perform his duty, and no doubt he was sincere in his position, but he was known among the merchants as the 'infamous Cockle.' So as to make his position clear, he published the following notice in the *Boston Gazette* Jan. 2, 1764:

> *Custom House,*
> *Port of Salem* *December* 26, 1763.
>
> WHEREAS it has been represented to the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, that many Vessels trading to the Plantations not belonging to the King of *Great Britain* and returning with Cargoes of Rum, Sugar, and Molasses, have found Means to smuggle the same into his Majesty's Colonies, without paying the King's Duty. This is to inform all Masters of Vessels using the said Trade, that they are hereby strictly required on their Arrival here, to enter or report their Ships and Cargoes at the Custom House, when proper Officers will be put on board such Vessels, to see that the Act of the Sixth of his late Majesty King GEORGE the Second (imposing a Duty on all foreign Rum, Sugar, and Molasses) be in all it's Parts fully carried into Execution. By Order of the Surveyor — General,
>
> J. COCKLE, *Collector.*
> J. DOWSE, *Surveyor & Searcher.*

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[1] *Boston Gazette*, June 28, 1762; see also *Vice-Admiralty Records*, June 29.

On top of this a British man-of-war, the *Jamaica*, was assigned to Salem and Marblehead, so the British were in earnest about it.[1]

No doubt Cockle was legally right, but he was one of the agents for putting New England trade into a straitjacket which it could ill afford and did not intend to tolerate. Politics, no doubt, got to work, and during the year Cockle retired and William Browne, Esq., was made collector about the first of October, 1764.[2] He was a tory later, and died as governor of Bermuda, but he was a native of Salem and had more sympathy with the merchants. It was during his régime that one pleasant little episode that had been ferreted out by Cockle came to a head.

Some clever person at St. Eustatia had devised the idea of counterfeiting clearances and selling them to colonial captains, so a vessel loaded with sugar and molasses at one of the French islands at a low price could enter at Salem with a clearance from an English island, which was legal trade. The Salem masters claimed that they were innocent sufferers who had been deceived, which does not seem very plausible knowing the canniness of these traders. Anyway, the merchants solicited and received a composition for a very low rate and settled the matter, but it caused a great fuss for those who had to pay and those who were accused of letting them off too cheap.[3] This may have caused the retirement of Browne, and early in April, 1765, John Fisher was appointed to succeed him.[4]

Meanwhile, rumors were reaching the town that some sort of iniquitous act imposing a stamp duty on all legal papers had been passed. All the young couples hurried up their weddings, fearing a tax on their marriage certificates. Marblehead was particularly thrifty in this line, and twenty-two couples published their bans on a single Sunday to get ahead of the law.[1]

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[1] *Boston Gazette*, Feb. 27, 1764.

[2] *Ibid.*, Oct. 8, 1764.

[3] Letter of Philanthrop, *Boston Evening Post*, Feb. 9, 1767.

[4] *Boston Evening Post*, April 8, 1765.

Salem took the same action as many of the other towns in regard to the Stamp Act. At a town meeting on October 21, 1765, over which the Honorable Benjamin Pickman presided as moderator, they sent these instructions to Andrew Oliver and William Browne, who then represented them in the General Court.[2]

> At a meeting of the Freeholders and other inhabitants of the Town of *Salem*, lawfully qualified to vote in Town affairs at the Court-House (so called) in the same Town, October 21, 1765, after the choice of the Hon. *Benjamin Pickman*, Esq; for Moderator of the Meeting, it was among other things voted as follows, viz.
>
> *To* Andrew Oliver & William Browne, *Esqs. Representatives for the Town of* Salem
>
> Gentlemen, We the inhabitants of said Salem, being fully convinced that the act lately pass'd by the Parliament of Great Britain, commonly called the Stamp-Act; would if carried into execution be excessively grievous and burthensome to the Inhabitants of this his Majesty's loyal province; and productive of the most fatal consequences of our trade, as it must soon drain us of the medium necessary for carrying it on — and be injurious to liberty, since we are therein tax'd without our consent, having no Representative in Parliament. But if in any sense we are supposed to be represented, most certainly it is by such only as have an interest in laying *burthens upon us for their own relief*. And further as we are hereby deprived of another *most valuable right*, that of *trial by juries*, and instead of it, have the power of the Courts of Admiralty further extended, which must be destructive of Liberty.
>
> As these are some of our sentiments of this Act, and as

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[1] *Boston Evening Post*, Oct. 14, 1765.

[2] E.I.H.C., LI, 135–36.

> we suppose it may be agreeable to you, to be acquainted with them, in the present extraordinary and critical situation of our civil interests; and we would as much as possible prevent the mischiefs we apprehend must arise from it; and would give a public testimony of our disapprobation thereof. — We do hereby request you to do every thing you legally and prudently may, towards obtaining a repeal of the STAMP ACT, trusting you will use your whole influence on this important occasion, that the evils we so justly dread may be avoided, which this town must largely partake of beyond most others in this government.
>
> And whereas a riotous temper has unhappily prevailed in several towns in this province — to the subversion of laws — the terror of his Majesty's subjects — and the destruction of private property, by which the public harmony has been broken, and our confidence in each other greatly lessened and almost lost: And as internal discords and divisions have a tendency to prevent the repeal and facilitate the execution of the Act, and to bring on us the inconveniences we fear — WE do further request you, vigorously to pursue all such measures as tend to suppress tumultuous proceedings — to prevent lawless outrage and violence — and to promote public harmony, order and tranquility.[1]

In all the letters from the towns, the protestations against lawlessness are very interesting, but the hostility to the act soon got out of hand. The following January, Captain John Hathorne came in from the Grenadines in the brigantine *Bradford* of seventy-eight tons.[2] As he had sailed nearly six months before, he could have known but little of the stir the Stamp Act had occasioned, but it was hinted abroad that his papers were stamped! The Sons of Liberty demanded that the selectmen send to the custom house for those 'Marks of Slavery.' The officials gave them up and they were taken to the London Coffee House,

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[1] *Town Records*, Oct. 21, 1765; *Boston Evening Post*, Oct. 28, 1765.

[2] *Early Coastwise Shipping*, 21.

> where were assembled a large Company of respectable People (on the Occasion) who soon came to the following Resolves, viz. 1. That these Marks of Tyranny were by no Means to be lodged in a public Office. 2. That they together with a Jackboot, (out of which the D——l was peeping) should be affixed to a long Pole and carried thus between Heaven and Earth (as fit for neither) near to the common Whipping Post. But some objecting that they did not deserve so much Honor as to be fixed to it; it was then agreed they should be burnt nigh it; which was accordingly done by a Bonfire prepared for that Purpose, amidst the loud Huzzas of the Assembly, and the Ashes scattered in the Air: — After which the Populace immediately dispersed without doing any harm or making any Disturbance. A number of Gentlemen returned to the Coffee House, spent the Evening, and drank several loyal Toasts, such as long Life and Prosperity to his Majesty King George the Third; Destruction to the Stamp Act, &c.[1]

This episode shows two things, namely, that the Sons of Liberty were strong in the town and that the authorities did not seem to be hostile to them, and further, that 'Destruction to the Stamp Act' was regarded as a loyal toast! The selectmen of the time were Samuel Barton, Jr., John White, Jr., Jonathan Gardner, Jr., and Jeremiah Hacker.

Soon after the Stamp Act was passed, Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson had opposed a remonstrance of the House of Representatives, and this, together with other acts of his, had so increased his unpopularity that a mob had destroyed his house in Boston. The king ordered the colony to compensate him and others who had suffered from Stamp Act rioters. This became quite a burning

[1] *Boston Evening Post*, Feb. 3, 1766.

question, and the representatives were inclined to get the opinions of their constituents. In November, 1766, the Salem town meeting voted that compensation should be made from the public treasury,[1] though a month earlier it had instructed its representatives that the Stamp Act was 'very injurious to liberty since we are therein taxed without our consent.'[2] The patriotic party was not yet as strong in Salem as in some other towns and undoubtedly she moved more slowly toward resistance to royal authority. This was due also to the fact that the tory minority contained many of the ablest men in the town.

In due time the Stamp Act was repealed, and the action was hailed with great rejoicing everywhere in the commonwealth. The ministry in England which repealed it lasted only a year, however, and then began another series of acts almost as odious to America, and affecting the merchant class even more than had the Stamp Act. Charles Townshend, the new chancellor of the exchequer, devised a series of import taxes on paper, glass, painters' colors, and tea which started the trouble all over again. They also proposed to use part of this income to pay the salaries of judges and civil officers so that they should not be dependent on the colonial legislatures. The Boston town meeting very promptly passed a vote to abstain from buying any of the taxed articles and invited the co-operation of other towns. A committee laid the letter before the town meeting in Salem, but the votes submitted by the Boston committee were rejected. The implication is that Salem resented the dictation of Boston rather than that they agreed to the taxes.[3] Their action, however, called out a sarcastic letter from a Boston gentleman who signs himself S—— C——r in which he castigates his neighbors:[1]

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[1] *Town Records*, Nov. 17, 18, 24, 1766; *Boston Evening Post*, Dec. 1, 1766.

[2] *Town Records*, Oct. 21, 1765.

[3] *Boston Evening Post*, Dec. 21, 1767.

> Messrs. Fleets. We are inform'd by the public Prints, that the late good and wholsome Resolves of the Town of *Boston*, relative to *Industry*, *Frugality*, and retrenching Superfluities, have been approved and adopted by several neighboring governments, and by many Towns in this Province. And it is reasonable to suppose that all understanding men, however their political principles may differ, will do all in their power to promote so good a work, and to prevent impending ruin. It is therefore matter of wonder, that this *important Concern* is treated by many as a matter of *Ridicule* and *Contempt*, and become a meer *Party Affair*. It is certain, that the great friends and patrons of the late *Stamp-Act*, & who are fond of *new* Establishments and Impositions, laugh heartily at the late managements in the Town of Boston, and are seconded by their Understrappers, such as the True Patriot, and others of the same Stamp, who have made their *feeble* efforts in the public papers to retard our Hopeful Beginnings.
>
> The late management of the town of *Salem*, with regard to this affair, is both surprising and extraordinary. By an article in your last paper we are informed, That 'out of regard to the recommendation of the Select-Men of Boston, a Town-Meeting was lately held at Salem, and a committee chose to draw up articles of agreement for the promoting oeconomy, &c. among them; and that articles were accordingly presented to the town at the adjournment of the meeting, which were similar to those agreed upon in Boston.' — And that those articles were Rejected by the *ancient*, wise *and respectable* town of *Salem*.
>
> I think no account has appeared, as yet in the public prints, of any meeting in the town of *Marblehead* on this occasion. It is observable, that *Salem* and *Marblehead* lie contiguous; and that their *topical situation* is similar to that of the tribe of *Zebulon*, recorded Genesis XLIX. 13. *Zebulon shall dwell at the haven of the sea and shall be for an haven of ships*. And as the inhabitants of both these towns are,

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[1] E.I.H.C., LIII, 300–01.

> the greatest part, merchants, seafaring men, and fishermen, and their business and interest being chiefly *by the way of the Sea*, it is no wonder if they should espouse the *same political principles by common consent.* Therefore let it be remembered, that when we were alarmed at the approach of the *Stamp-Act*, those two towns manifested the greatest inclination to comply with it of any towns in the province: this will plainly appear by the public votes and instruction of those towns, still extant in the News-Papers of that time. They were also no doubt influenced by that well-known maxim of *sound reason, and love to the country*, namely, *that the surest way to procure a repeal of the* Stamp-Act, *was to yield a compliance with it.*
>
> In the fore cited chapter, we have the character of *Issachar* set before us, in a very elegant manner, verses 14, 15: *Issachar is a strong Ass crouching down between two burdens. And he saw that rest was good, and the land that it was pleasant; and bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant unto tribute.*
>
> As it is far from my intention; so I hope none will presume to transfer this *abject character* to any of our respectable towns. I shall only make this short *comment* on the text. *That when a People willingly* become *BEASTS of BURDEN, and court the Whips & Scorpions of arbitrary power, their case is miserable indeed.*

Salem did not allow this attack to pass unnoticed, and ten days later, Peter Frye, colonel of the regiment, son-in-law of Benjamin Pickman, and judge of the County Court, came back with a reply. This shows how narrow was the line between tory and patriot, for Frye was later proscribed and driven from the town. Frye wrote:

> Messrs. Fleets. As the Proceedings of the Town of *Salem* in the late difficult times are greatly misrepresented in yours of the 28th of December last, in a Piece signed S. C——r. Please to give the following a place in your next, that the public may know what that Town really did in those times.
>
> When the time approached that the late Stamp Act was

> to take place The Town of *Salem* in a full Meeting (called for that purpose) unanimously voted that they would put an entire stop to their Trade rather than make use of any Stamp Papers; which they would punctually have observed; and had no other way been afterwards found to clear out their vessels, would have hauled them up; tho' by thus stopping their trade they would have suffered more perhaps than any Town in the Province. — They also agreed to the utmost of their power to prevent any riots and outrages being committed among them. — I think this very different from that 'maxim of sound reason: the surest way to procure a repeal of the Stamp-Act is to yield a compliance with it.' —
>
> And as to the Town of *Salem* rejecting the articles lately enumerated and recommended by the Metropolis: the people of that Town have for time out of mind been esteemed extremely prudent; they therefore thought they might reject those articles (many of which they did not import or make use of) without giving offence to any. —
>
> I think also it may be asserted with truth, that this Town always has, and by all lawful methods intend to maintain their freedom, and avoid excess and licentiousness in every form, and wish for nothing more than that a good understanding and unity may be carefully maintained among the inhabitants of all the towns in the province, as being the most likely way (with success) to be able to resist the scheme of those who may endeavor to enslave us.
>
> *Salem, Jan.* 5, 1767. PETER FRYE[1]

Things were rapidly drawing to a climax, and in January, 1768, the House of Representatives decided to write to the other colonies to join in a petition to the king. This was very obnoxious to the governor and still more so to the ministry in England, and the governor was directed to instruct the House to rescind this resolution. It procrastinated till pressed, then voted 92 to 17 not to rescind its vote, and appointed a committee to petition 'the King that His Majesty would be graciously pleased to remove his excellency Francis Bernard, Esq. from the Government of this Province.'[1]

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[1] *Boston Evening Post*, Jan. 11, 1768.

The two Salem representatives, Andrew Oliver and William Browne, had voted to rescind, but it was not the mind of the town, and a few days later a rather animated town meeting, and perhaps the fullest ever known,[2] was held in which the town voted the following resolutions, strongly supporting the majority of the representatives and against their own delegates:

> It was put to vote whether it was ye opinion of this Town they had a legal Right to act at this meeting on the matters contained in the Warrant & for calling ye same, and it past in the affirmative —
>
> Voted, That the Town do approve of the vote of y^e^ late Hon^ble^ House of Representatives not to Rescind.
>
> Voted That ye said Town do thank y^e^ s^d^ Honourable House for their Firmness and Resolution shewn in maintaining our just Rights & Liberty[3]

This was strongly opposed by many of the best people in town,[4] and they signed the following protest and had it inserted in the records:[5]

> We the Subscribers Inhabitants of Salem, being in a meeting of ye Inhabitants of said Town, Devise to enter this our Protest against said meeting and any proceedings that may be had by said Town at each meeting —
>
> 1st Because we apprehend, that the the Selectmen thought it would tend to the quiet of said Town to call this meeting, yet we doubt whether they had any Right, by Law to order or require a meeting of said Town for any Cause like that mentioned in the Warrant for said meeting and therefore we

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[1] Palfrey, v, 382.

[2] *Boston Evening Post*, Aug. 15, 1768.

[3] *Town Records*, July 18, 1768.

[4] *Boston Evening Post*, July 18, 1768.

[5] There is an interesting letter about this meeting and the protest in the *Boston Evening Post*, Aug. 15, 1768; quoted in E.I.H.C., LIV, 251.

apprehend if this meeting be unlawful the moderator of said meeting is not by Law, vested with any power to regulate order & govern the same as a moderator by Law hath of any Legal Meeting of said Town —

2ndly We think it would be very imprudent, especially at this Time, for said Town, at a Meeting of ye Inhabitants thereof to express their Approbation or Disapprobation of any vote. or order of any part or Branch of a great & general Court of this Province —

3dly We think it very absurd & improper to attempt to pass a Vote of Thanks to an Honourable House of Representatives of this Province when none such doth exist —

4thly Because we apprehend that what is proposed to be done (whether designed or not) may tend to injure the Gentlemen who represented this Town in ye last General Assembly of this Province and especially if so designed may discourage every suitable Person from serving the Town in any Capacity whatever

Saml Luscomb junr
Nehemiah Clough
Joseph Mackintire
Thorndike Procter
John Turner
Francis Cabot
A. Oliver
John Higginson
Nathan Browne
Benja Pickman junr
Joseph Blaney
Jeremiah Hacker
David Phippen
Thorndike Procter junr
John Barnard
Samuel Curwen
Joseph Bowditch
Wm Jeffry
Andw Dalglish
Benja Pickman
Benja Lynde
Nathl Ropes
John Nutting
Peter Frye
Wm Pynchon
Saml Cottnam
Wm Browne
Ebenr Putnam
Jas Grant
C Gayn Pickman

The lines of cleavage between the two points of view of the tory and the patriot were rapidly developing, and men were beginning to take up positions from which later it was going to be difficult to retreat. As well as the theoretical issue of liberty there was now the very real one of the payment of taxes, and it was reported that about this time seven thousand ounces of silver, which had been collected under the new duties, were transferred from

Salem to Boston.[1] This was a very large sum of money to take from the pockets of the merchants of a town of some five thousand people, and showed that the new imposts were heavy and were being collected.

Much ill-feeling was engendered by the July meeting, and the protest against its action and evidently the cleavage grew as time passed. The people were restless and excited. Their trade was being seriously interfered with and smuggling was the natural result. The custom house staff was increasingly energetic and unpopular, and it was merely a question of time when violence would break out. On September 7, one Robert Wood was charged with being an informer. Whom he told on or what caused the trouble is not recorded, nor is it clear whether he was one of the customs officers, but he was stripped, set on a hogshead, tarred, feathered, and carted through the streets.[2] A day or two later one of the custom house tidesmen, Thomas Rowe,[3] incorrectly called John Row,[4] told the customs officers that a vessel in the harbor was preparing to evade payment of duties. Between ten and eleven in the morning, he was taken from one of the wharves to the Common, covered with warm tar — head, body, and limbs — and plastered with feathers. He was then seated on a cart with placards inscribed 'Informer' on back and chest, and dragged through the town, accompanied by a cheering mob. At the upper end of Essex Street, he was allowed to get down, the mob opened right and left, and he walked through while a live goose was constantly hurled at him. With assurances that he would receive higher marks of distinction if he ever returned, he departed for Boston.[5]

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[1] *Boston Evening Post*, July 11, 1768.

[2] *Lynde Diaries*, 192; *Holyoke Diaries*, 69 and note; Felt, 2d, II, 637.

[3] Felt, 2d, II, 263, 381.

[4] *Holyoke Diaries*, 69, note.

[5] *Essex Gazette*, Sept. 13, 1768.

As poor Rowe got only twenty-five pounds a year, he seems to have paid rather dearly for his job, and he laid his case before the board in Boston and was amply rewarded. Similar affairs occurred in Marblehead and Newburyport about the same time, and are merely the surface indications of a deep resentment on the part of the people at the way they were being mulcted without any due return to themselves.[1] Some modern tax-gatherers might well take note that what has happened can happen again. A good coat of tar and feathers would help some of these impudent modern tax sleuths to better manners.

Meanwhile, the selectmen of Boston had issued a circular letter to the towns urging the appointment of delegates to a convention to meet September 22 in place of a General Court which the governor refused to call.[2] On petition of Deacon Joshua Ward and others a meeting was called in Salem on September 21; a committee of two, Captain Richard Derby and Mr. Jonathan Ropes, Jr., was chosen to represent the town, and Doctor John Prince, Captain John Gardner, and Captain Jonathan Gardner were appointed to notify them and draft instructions. The meeting adjourned till four o'clock, when Captain Derby and Mr. Ropes begged to be excused and a new committee, consisting of Mr. John Pickering, Doctor John Prince, Mr. Warwick Palfrey, Mr. Samuel Barton, Jr., and Captain Joseph Hodges, was chosen to write the Boston selectmen and inquire what would be 'the particular business of the committee in the convention to be held in Boston on the 22^{d} instant.'[3] On the twenty-seventh the committee reported with a letter from the Boston town clerk and a copy of the *Boston Gazette*, but 'On account of the thinness of this meeting it was put to vote whether the meeting should be dissolved and it passed in the affirmative.' So Salem took no part in the convention, though ninety-six towns did appoint delegates. Little was done, and the arrival of the British troops and fleet on September 28 seems to have hastened the adjournment on the twenty-ninth.[1]

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[1] *Essex Antiquarian*, II, 108.

[2] Hutchinson, III, 492.

[3] *Town Records*, Sept. 19, 21, and 27, 1768.

With the close of the year 1768, the control of the town definitely passed from the tory group to the patriot group, and with the passing of control, Oliver, Browne, and Frye, who had been the representatives for the last half-dozen years, passed out of office forever and the new men, Richard Derby, Jr., and John Pickering, Jr., definitely representing the other side, were elected to the House of Representatives. Nathaniel Ropes retired from the council, and for several years there was no Salem councillor. Salem did not take the lead in early Revolutionary resistance because it was definitely dominated by the conservative element. Beginning, however, in the autumn of 1768 the balance of power shifted, and in spite of the subsequent hesitation, the shift may well be dated from that town meeting when the town supported the majority of the representatives who voted not to rescind the resolution to ask the co-operation of the other colonies. The position of the influential men is well stated by the anonymous writer of a letter about this town meeting,[2] who writes:

> Now we acknowledge that Benjamin Pickman pays a large tax in the town of Salem but one of the petitioners pays considerably more than he does in said town. Francis Cabot who also signs the protest pays a considerable tax; Now taking out B. P. and F. C., Richard Derby pays more tax for his estate than about one half the Gentlemen who signed the protest pay their estates. Further there are as many as ten of the petitioners, each of which pay more tax

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[1] Hutchinson, III, 205–12.

[2] *Boston Evening Post*, Aug. 15, 1768.

> than any one who signed the protest, the above two persons excepted.

The protestants were, of course, the tories. Benjamin Pickman had been the moderator of that meeting and he had lost.

Another event very important to the patriotic cause occurred in the year 1768. In April, young Samuel Hall came to town and opened a printing office. It is said that he was encouraged to come by the Derbys,[1] and from the beginning he showed distinct leanings toward the cause of liberty. He had received his training in Newport in the office established by Benjamin Franklin's brother John, and long conducted by John's widow, Anne. He had bought out the business in 1763, and for five years had published the Newport *Mercury*, so he had training not only in printing but also in journalism. Essex County was a far more important field than Newport, and with the backing of the Derbys he could count on success. On August 2, 1768, was issued the first number of the *Essex Gazette*, the first newspaper ever published in Salem, and from that day to the opening of the Revolution, it ably and fearlessly supported the patriotic cause.[2]

Mr. Hall also published the *Essex Almanac* beginning with the year 1769, and its verses and comments had a distinctly patriotic tinge. It was in one of these that Mary Holyoke kept her diary for that year. This almanac was continued till 1773.[3] The patriot party now had a friendly medium through which to convey its ideas to the public as well as control of the town government.

Massachusetts was now to feel the first attempt at military coercion from Great Britain. Just as the September convention adjourned, nine hundred soldiers arrived in Boston from Halifax and were quartered in Faneuil Hall and the old State House, which was flanked by two cannon; a few weeks later parts of two regiments came from Ireland, while General Gage, who was commander-in-chief of the forces in America, though not yet governor of Massachusetts, came over from New York to attend to their quartering. The people could not fail to see in this a determination of the British government to enforce its plans at all costs, yet this was over six years before Lexington.

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[1] Stickney: *Almanacs*, E.I.H.C., VIII, 159.

[2] Tapley: *Salem Imprints*, 5–30.

[3] Stickney: *Almanacs*, E.I.H.C., VIII, 159–164.

Moreover, British men-of-war were stationed along the coast to enforce the new laws of trade. At the Boston station was the *Rose*, and she did not hesitate to use the ancient British system of impressing seamen from the provincial vessels if she needed men to fill up her crew. Early in 1769, she was cruising around the bay, when she held up a brigantine bound into Marblehead from Europe and sent a lieutenant on board. The seamen barricaded themselves in the forepeak and swore they would not be taken. They had no firearms, and one of them had already been shot through the arm when the lieutenant advanced and was killed by a harpoon! Additional forces came on board, and the men were captured and taken to Boston for trial before the Admiralty Court without a jury. This was not an unusual proceeding, but it caused a tremendous furor among the seamen of Essex County, and James Otis and John Adams, counsel for the seamen, missed no chance to emphasize the point. As a matter of fact the seamen were all acquitted, because it seemed that the lieutenant was not authorized by the lords of the admiralty to impress seamen. If they had been convicted, the matter would have taken a more serious aspect.[1]

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[1] Hutchinson, III, 231 and note.

As the year 1768 closed, it was evident that the dispute was getting beyond the stage of an abstract discussion of human liberty and the theory of colonial government. Determined men in England had decided that the colonies must be made to submit, by persuasion and dictation if possible, by force if necessary. Equally determined men in America were arriving at the position where they had decided to stand and beyond that point they would neither be persuaded nor forced to yield. The question was rapidly getting beyond the realm of discussion. One side must yield or there would be a fight. America was organizing a united front. The lower and more excitable class had already broken out into lawlessness and direct action. The control had passed from the hands of those who discountenanced it to the hands of those who were beginning reluctantly to believe that the appeal to arms might be necessary.

CHAPTER XXIV

STUBBORN RESISTANCE BEGINS

THE arrival of the troops had at first a sobering and quieting effect on the province. That class of the population most addicted to tumult and disturbance was temporarily awed, but the stubborn resistance of the legislature continued, and was supported by the news of resistance in New York and the resolutions of the Virginia House of Burgesses.

Meanwhile, the seaport towns were stirred up by a particular grievance of their own. The Greenwich Hospital tax,[1] which had been a dead issue for many years, had come to the front with the announcement that the collector had decided to levy it on the ordinary New England fishermen. In February, 1769, Marblehead took the lead by appointing the Honorable Robert Hooper, Jeremiah Lee, Esq., and Benjamin Marston, Esq., three of her most prominent merchants, to resist the tax,[2] and a fortnight later Salem took similar action.[3] The composition of this committee shows that both parties opposed the tax, for the Honorable Benjamin Pickman and Peter Frye, Esq., were joined with Captain Richard Derby and Mr. Jonathan Ropes, Jr., as the committee. Just why the British government wanted to add this fuel to the fire at this time is not clear; its action can only be attributed to the general stupidity of the British ministry, but it stirred up discontent among some of its best friends.

Richard Derby, Jr., and John Pickering, Jr., were sent as representatives to the spring session of the General

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[1] See p. 120.

[2] *Marblehead Town Records*, Feb. 20, 1769.

[3] *Town Records*, March 13, 1769.

Court, and to show how rapidly the point of view of the town had changed, it is worth while to read the instructions drafted by the selectmen:[1]

> Voted — That y^{e} following Instructions be given to their Representatives, to wit —
>
> To Mess^{rs} Richard Derby jun^{r} & John Pickering jun^{r} Gentlemen,
>
> Our electing you to represent us in the General Assembly of the Province at a time when the situation of publick affairs calls for the greatest exertions of wisdom prudence integrity & firmness; as it is the highest mark of our confidence & respect; so it demands your closest attention to our true & real interests, & to those rights and privileges which we are justly intitled to; the firm and prudent assertion, & equitable establishment whereof *now*, will be the best defence & security to the liberty & happiness of ourselves & posterity; as a negligent, weak & pusilanimous conduct in these most important concerns, may involve both in endless miseries. Under these circumstances, the free communication of the sentiments of your fellow citizens & constituents, cannot but be peculiarly acceptable; as, relying upon our warm approbation, it will encourage & confirm you in the vigorous prosecution of such measures as will be most likely to answer the ends aforesaid.
>
> The principal objects of your attention have already been exhibited to the publick in the instructions of several other towns in the province to their representatives, particularly in those of Boston. The following will inform you what are the Sentiments of your constituents.
>
> 1st We recommend to you, to endeavour that enquiry be made into the conduct of the troops stationed amongst us, & that his Majesty's loyal subjects of this province may be protected & secured against any violence & oppressions.
>
> 2^{dly} That you, with all your influence, endeavour to efface & remove every injurious impression occasioned by partial & unfair representations of the Conduct of this province, or any of its inhabitants.
>
> 3^{dly} With regard to the revenue laws lately enacted, we

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[1] *Town Records*, May 27, 1769.

esteem them to be our greatest grievance, as well as the unhappy cause of most others we now labour under; our obtaining full & effectual relief from them you will therefore consider as the most weighty charge lying upon you.

4thly To enforce the above Laws, the Court of Admiralty is invested with an extraordinary power, by which means we are deprived of that firmest barrier of English liberty, *the trial by Juries;* at the same time that our fellow subjects in Great-Britain enjoy the Benefit of it in its full extent, The deprivation of such an essential privilege, & so partial a distinction, cannot but awaken the jealousy of every American, & excite you zealously to pursue every legal measure for the restoration of it, — that the Admiralty courts may be confined to their ancient limits, & the subject in America be put on an equal foot with the subject in Great-Britain.

5thly We earnestly recommend to you, to use every means that may tend to restore the harmony & affection, not long since subsisting between Great-Britain & the Colonies; but which the late measures have unhappily for both, greatly interrupted, and, if persisted in, may, in the end, totally destroy: But at the same time you are to keep the strictest watch over our essential, constitutional rights & privileges, that none of them be in the least infringed upon.

6thly With respect to the publick money, we expect & rely upon it, that you will not consent to apply it to any purpose, but upon the most pressing necessity.

7thly To enquire why no greater regard is paid to Bills found by our Grand Juries; & whether a late information, filed by the King's Attorney, where ye Jury saw no evidence on which to found an Indictment, will not tend to render them less esteemed, nay entirely useless; and whether precedents for the same are frequent in Great-Britain, & when practised if not alarming to the subject, & disapproved by the greatest oracles of the Law.

8thly We earnestly recommend to you to endeavour to promote the fishery, so material a branch of the business of this County, by every encouragement in your power.

9thly We look upon it as the undeniable right of the house of Representatives of any one province, to communicate their sentiments, upon a common concern, to the assemblies

> of any, or all the other colonies, & to unite with them in humble, dutiful, & loyal petitions to the King, for the redress of a general grievance.

When the representatives met, they followed the general lines laid down for the Salem men. They objected to the presence of the troops and demanded their recall. The business dragged slowly along. They voted unanimously not to grant the governor's salary or vote any money for supplies or quartering of the troops, and when the governor announced his temporary trip to England, they preferred a petition to the king 'praying that His Majesty would be graciously pleased forever to remove his Excellency Sir Francis Bernard, Baronet, from the Government of this Province.' Shortly afterwards the governor prorogued the House with an angry speech, which is quite understandable, and departed for England amid noisy demonstrations of joy at his departure.

His mantle fell on Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Hutchinson, who became acting governor. He was probably the ablest man in Massachusetts, and also the most unpopular. He was thoroughly committed to the support of the royal prerogative. Little as one may agree with his position, one must admire the courage and ability with which he maintained his convictions when every interest pointed to the personal advantage of changing his position. For five years he held his ground in the face of all kinds of abuse.

Early in the winter, a form of passive resistance, which was found to cause trouble, became popular. The best way to nullify the new revenue laws was not to buy any of the commodities on which duties were levied, but this, while harmless enough in itself, produced friction in the community. Persons not hostile to the laws would buy the goods and offer them for sale. This would irritate those trying to uphold the plan and lead to jealousy and violence. While the sentiment for this form of resistance was growing, the Boston Massacre occurred; though not in any way connected with the non-importation plan, it emphasized the fact that British troops had been sent to the province and were there to enforce the unpopular laws. Salem had an interesting connection with the Boston Massacre in that Chief Justice Benjamin Lynde presided at the trial of the soldiers and gave the final charge to the jury, so these soldiers were acquitted on the charge of a Salem judge.[1]

Two days after the Boston Massacre, the Salem selectmen took into consideration 'whatever the town shall judge proper respecting any person or persons of this town purchasing any goods of any persons who have or shall import any goods contrary to the intent of the agreement of the merchants in this town and other towns; or any persons who have or shall purchase the same goods of any such importer.'[2]

By April 28, the selectmen were in the thick of it, and were considering a letter from Nathaniel Archer and others to take action on goods imported, and also a letter from the town of Newbury urging the appointment of a committee to form a non-importation organization.

Three days later, at a general town meeting, John Appleton agreed to store and not sell the goods he had ordered, and to countermand further orders; but the town would have none of it, and proceeded to form an ironclad non-importation organization in the shape of a committee of 'Inspection and Correspondence.' The members of this committee were: Mr. Samuel Flagg, Mr. Richard Derby, Jr., Mr. Warwick Palfrey, Mr. Jonathan Ropes, Jr.,

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[1] *Lynde Diaries*, 200, note, and appendix.

[2] *Town Records*, March 7, 1770.

Captain John Gardner, Captain Richard Manning, Captain Thomas Mason, Mr. James King, and Mr. David Northey. The committee were to prepare a paper for the inhabitants to sign, but Richard Derby, Jr., apparently had it in his pocket and pulled it out. It was voted in the following form:

> At a time when the body of Merchants & Dealers in English Goods in the Colonies, are sacrificing their own interest to the welfare of their country by refraining from importing goods from Great Britain as the most likely means to obtain a repeal of an act of Parliament laying Duties on Paper, Tea &c. a measure which was advised to by the Merchants in England: It is incumbent on us in duty to ourselves & posterity, & in gratitude to the Non-Importers, to take such measures as are thought most proper, to render effectual their agreements of Non-Importation, and prevent any from making an unreasonable advantage of such a generous sacrifice. For altho' the taxes imposed on us by s^{d} act are small, yet when the American Board of Commissioners shall cry 'give! give!' & hungry placemen & pensioners shall be multiplied upon us, which, from what has already appeared we have reason to think is part of the ministerial plan for creating troops of dependants in the Colonies: — The Parliament of Great Britain (who will not be under that natural restraint which would take place if they by the same acts taxed themselves) may, if this mode of taxation is tamely acquiesced in, levy upon us what sums they please, & apply them to the same purposes with those already imposed by the aforesaid act: And as there has been only a partial repeal of said Act, & the duty on tea yet remains, which makes it necessary still to adhere to the Non-Importation Agreements: And as goods have lately been imported from Great Britain by some few merchants in this province contrary to s^{d} agreements, which will, in a great measure, frustrate said agreements, unless such goods be sent back to Great-Britain, or the Sale of them prevented: We the Subscribers do engage for ourselves that we will not, & to use our endeavours that others may not, hereafter pur-

> chase goods of any kind, of such persons as have imported, or shall import goods contrary to the agreements aforesaid, nor of such as have purchased or shall purchase of such Importers, unless they comply with such rules & restrictions as the Committee of Inspection appointed or to be appointed for that purpose shall direct, until a general Importation shall take place. And we do further agree to & with each other that we will not suffer any foreign tea to be used in our families, & that we will not buy any kind of goods whatever of those persons who shall sell said tea, after the fifth day of this present month: and further that we will not employ any persons that shall use it themselves, or shall suffer it to be used in their families. And we do further agree that we will not on any account whatever, countenance or employ any coaster, Carter, Truckman, or other that is concerned in transporting any Goods imported contrary to the general agreement of the Merchants of the town of Boston.[1]

To enforce these ideas it was further voted:

> That the Committee of Inspection now chosen be desired to publish the names of Importers, also the names of such as purchase of Importers (to sell again) contrary to the general agreement of the Merchants in this & other towns.

The committee evidently did not mince matters and were called on to explain some drastic rules in their 'Tea Agreement' a fortnight later, but the town backed them right up:

> Voted That the Explanation of the Tea Agreement of the town of the 1st instant, by the Committee of Inspection & Correspondence, be accepted, and that s^d committee be impowered to act as they shall judge most proper in regard to the Goods imported from Great Britain this season or any that shall be imported until a general Importation shall take place.[2]
>
> Said Explanation of the Tea Agreement is as follows, viz^t

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[1] *Town Records*, May 1, 1770.

[2] *Ibid.*, May 16, 1770.

> 'These words in the tea agreement "That we will not employ any persons that shall use it themselves, or shall suffer it to be used in their families" — being objected to by some persons, as being too severe to be complied with, the Committee assure the publick, that no more is intended than that the Subscribers shall use their Influence with those they employ to refrain from the use of tea themselves, & to prevent the use of it in their families'

In September came the first real conflict with the committee's attempt to enforce the agreement; they brought the issue squarely up to the town, which again backed them up and took measures of an extreme and unusual nature to punish the violators:

> Voted That the following Memorandum be publickly read at every annual Meeting of the town in March, for the space of seven years next ensuing, immediately before the choice of Town Officers: to wit —
>
> BE IT REMEMBERED, That John Appleton, Abigail Eppes, Peter Frye Esq^r^ & Elizabeth Higginson, in violation of their solemn agreement, with threats demanded their Goods imported by them in Defiance of the non-importation agreement, and which at their own earnest request they desired the Committee of Inspection to take under their care; and on the twenty second day of September A.D. 1770, carried those threats into execution; for on that day, said Appleton of his own authority, and said Eppes, Frye, & Higginson, armed with a Process of Law, & assisted by the Under-Sheriff, with force & violence broke open the stores in which those goods were deposited, took them away & exposed them to Sale.
>
> Voted That the Committee of Inspection &c. prepare a narrative of the base & infamous behaviour of the persons above named, respecting the goods aforesaid; and that they cause the same narrative to be published in the next Essex Gazette (or as soon as may be) and the names of s^d^ Appleton, Eppes, Frye & Higginson, as Importers, & Violaters of their Agreement, weekly for eight weeks next ensuing, &

> on the first Tuesday of every succeeding month, for the space of one year from the first publication.

The town further voted to defend, reimburse, and indemnify their committee from any attack by the importers. They further voted not to purchase any kind of goods from the importers or even to employ their truckman, Benjamin Daland.[1]

What happened next is not clear from any accounts which have so far appeared, but there is among the town bills[2] a bill in the beautiful penmanship of Samuel Flagg, the chairman, for himself and others, presumably the committee, which reveals the whole episode. The committee at once secured legal advice from Mr. Lowell and Mr. Adams (presumably John) in Boston, and the case was tried in the Ipswich Quarterly Court. The attorneys got it postponed to the Salem session, where the pressure in their favor would presumably be stronger, but they had no case and finally had to settle, and agreed to pay the legal expenses of Widow Higginson for £3–18–0, of Widow Eppes for £7–15–2, and of Peter Frye for £8–0–9. The committee paid the costs out of their own pockets and presented the bill to the town on July 26, 1773, for £43–18–2. Captain Dodge agreed to contribute £2–8–0, and Captains S. Barton, Richard Derby, Sr. and Jr., and E. H. Derby £1–8–0 each. Like many of the town's Revolutionary bills, it was not paid till after the surrender at Yorktown, and then, with interest to March 2, 1782, it amounted to £65–13–0.

This episode has been described in detail because it shows so clearly that the party defeated on the legal points won on the moral issue. John Appleton, who alone raised no legal issue, was the only one who remained during the Revolution. The legal defeat was never mentioned by the patriots. It was the extra-legal measures that drove these people to the wall.

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[1] *Town Records*, Sept. 25, 1770.

[2] Essex Institute MSS. *Town Bills*, 1717–82.

This was pretty drastic action against four persons who had stood high in the esteem of the town in earlier days and were, after all, persons of good character. John Appleton was a Harvard graduate, thirty-one years old, the son of a fellow of Harvard College, and had a good reputation as a merchant. Colonel Peter Frye was a judge of the Court of Common Pleas and a son-in-law of the Honorable Benjamin Pickman,[1] and had been a representative in the General Court till recently. Elizabeth Higginson was a Cabot and was the widow of the highly respected Stephen Higginson the elder,[2] and Abigail Eppes was the daughter of the Honorable Benjamin Pickman and the widow of William Eppes, who came to Salem from Virginia.[3] Thus this attack rather focussed on the Pickman family, though the Cabots, Higginsons, and Appletons were included. It shows the bitterness of the times that the people should have turned so strongly against persons lately held in such esteem.

This appears to have been the last real attempt to stem the tide of revolution. John Appleton presently moved to Haverhill and stayed there till after the war was over. Peter Frye left with the other loyalists and died in London at an advanced age. Mrs. Eppes presently married Doctor Sylvester Gardiner of Boston, who was a loyalist.[4] Mrs. Higginson went to Halifax, but returned in 1782 to Salem.[5] Mr. Appleton, Mrs. Higginson, and the truckman Benjamin Daland were probably not tories at heart. At any rate, Mr. Appleton's brother was a zealous patriot and a member of the first Committee of Correspondence in Boston.[1]

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[1] *Pickman Diary*, 18.

[2] Wheatland: *Higginson Genealogy*, E.I.H.C., v, 38.

[3] *Pickman Diary*, 19.

[4] Jones: *Loyalists*, 140–42.

[5] O. Pickering, *Life of Timothy Pickering*, I, 83.

After this episode, things seem to have gone all one way in the town, and we hear very little about the conflict for two or three years in the Town Records, while the interminable fight went on in the legislature over who should pay the governor and the judges. The province got fearfully worked up on the proposition to pay the judges from crown funds for fear that they would thereby be prejudiced in favor of the crown, and threatened to impeach them if they accepted emolument from any source except the colony. Nathaniel Ropes of Salem was among those who gave the necessary assurances that they would not accept such salaries.[2]

Soon after this, the resolves of the Virginia House of Burgesses, together with the memorandum from Boston on the 'State of the Rights of the Colonies,' came before the selectmen,[3] who referred them to the town. A committee of five was appointed to consider these communications and draft a report. Captain Samuel Barton, Timothy Pickering, Jr., Stephen Higginson, Nathaniel Sparhawk, and Captain Richard Manning were appointed, while Samuel Ward, George Williams, and Henry Gardner, though nominated in the town meeting, were rejected. Why they were rejected is not evident, but Timothy Pickering, Jr., now appears for the first time, and Stephen Higginson, the son of that Mrs. Higginson who was so pilloried a few years before, appears on the list. One wonders if they could have read the denunciation of her at this very meeting, or whether it was already forgotten.

A month later,[4] Samuel Barton's committee presented the following draft of a letter which is certainly not lacking in patriotism:

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[1] *Appleton Memorials*, 31.

[2] Palfrey, v, 478.

[3] *Town Records*, May 3, 1773.

[4] *Ibid.*, June 7, 1773.

> Gentlemen,
>
> We the Freeholders & other Inhabitants of *Salem* in Town-Meeting duly assembled, according to Law, have deliberately considered the *State of the Rights of the Colonists*, & the other Papers received from you, & own ourselves greatly obliged to the Town of *Boston* for their unremitted Vigilance in the general, important Concerns of our Country, & early Notice of impending Dangers: We particularly thank them for their clear & concise State of our Rights, & List of Infringements of them; by which the People in general may more easily see on what solid Grounds our Opposition to the Measures of Administration, in Support of those Rights, is founded, & from thence will naturally be led with more determined Resolution to defend them.
>
> In this State of our Rights we think no more is claimed than justly belongs to us; no more than every good Citizen would zealously contend for and defend. The Instances adduced as Violations of these Rights, are too notorious to be denied. And although the vigorous Efforts of this Province, & the united Endeavours of the Colonists, have hitherto failed of procuring a Restoration of them; yet we think that Silence about them would be unpardonable. If we cease to complain we shall be thought to acquiesce; and our just Causes of Complaint will be in Danger of being forgotten. Those Nations of Europe who once were free as Britons — as exquisitely sensible to every Insult & Oppression — having by Degrees been awed into Silence & Submission, are now reduced to Slavery; & being long accustomed to suffer every Indignity which proud Ambition could invent — to bear every Load which Avarice & Cruelty could heap on them, — are debased almost below the Rank of Humanity; and so lost to manly Thought that they even kiss their Chains. Or if a few exalted Minds, conscious of the Dignity of their Nature, keenly feel their Wretchedness; this Sensibility serves only to make them more compleatly miserable.
>
> For these Reasons we judge it absolutely necessary that

the People of this Province, & of all the Colonies, should be constantly & fully informed of every Measure of Administration whereby our just Rights are infringed, or that has the remotest Tendency to destroy or alter our happy constitution. And for this End we esteem the *State of the Rights of the Colonists* to be a valuable Acquisition to the Public And had we conceived it necessary to assemble upon the Receipt of it, the Town of Boston would long since have had our Thanks for so generous a Communication of it to all the Towns in the Province. But at that Time the uncommon Hurry of Business, occasioned partly by the Fineness of the Season, would have made it extremely inconvenient for us to have assembled. And very soon afterwards we had the strongest Assurance that the Governour would meet the Council & House (as he did) on the sixth of January. And as this was the Step the Town of Boston requested his Excellency to take, on the Alarm occasioned by the Report of the Judges having their Salaries appointed by the Crown; had this Request been granted, it seemed reasonable to suppose their subsequent meeting would have been superseded. For in that constitutional Body, we knew the joint Wisdom of the Province would be employed, and we doubted not of their Readiness to inquire into & redress every Grievance to the utmost of their Power.

This being the Case there then seemed no Occasion for a Town meeting, unless to shew how groundlessly it was pretended that the People of this Province in general were quiet & undisturbed at the late measures; and that what uneasiness appeared arose only from a few factious, designing men. But, considering the well-known political Sentiments of the Gentlemen who have represented us these four last years, even this did not seem, alone, to render a Town-meeting necessary. For it could not, we thought, without making the wildest & most absurd Suppositions, be imagined that this Town was thus easy and undisturbed, and contentedly acquiesced in the late measures, so manifestly in Contradiction to the declared Sentiments of our Representatives: For had this been the Case, they must certainly have failed of an Election. Yet, notwithstanding the utter Improbability of it, this, & not what we have above related, has been suggested to be the Cause of our not assembling as other Towns did.

We therefore have thought it expedient thus explicitly to declare our Sense of the Matters of your Communication. This we were the more strongly induced to do as the Right of Towns to deliberate and act upon such matters has since been called in Question, & denied, At the same Time it is admitted — 'That it is the indisputable Right of all or any of his Majesty's Subjects in this Province *regularly* & *orderly* to meet together to state the Grievances they labour under,' &c. We therefore do not see why the former is denied. That the Proceedings of the Inhabitants of any Town met in their corporate Capacity, when every one is under the lawful control of a moderator, will probably be conducted with more *Order* & *Regularity* than if assembled in a voluntary Meeting, no one can doubt. That Towns have a Right to instruct their Representatives, has not, that we know of, been disputed. An eminent Law-Writer & Judge admits it; the honourable Board, in their Answer to the Governour's Speech declare it; — and this (as they add) necessarily implies a previous Consideration of, & Expression of their minds on, the Subjects about which the Instructions are given. Now, if Towns instruct their Representatives at all, it is plain they must do it in their corporate Capacity. And 'tis well known the City of LONDON have in their corporate Capacity, repeatedly stated the Grievances they labour under, & in Terms as bold, as free, &, we believe, as little respectful, as can be found in the proceedings of the Towns in this Province; Yet we do not recollect that the City has been once charged with exercising an unlawful Power: nor has the King ever refused to receive their Remonstrances, however disrespectful he may have thought them.

NOW we conceive that every Town in this Province has an equal Right with the City of LONDON, to state those Grievances which affect the Community, & them as parts of it, & to endeavour to get them redressed: The Principle upon which both are incorporated being, as we apprehend, materially the same.

Nor can we imagine why it should be suggested, that for the Inhabitants of a Town to state their Grievances as Individuals would be a more eligible Way than to do it in their corporate Capacity. The former, it is true, would be less likely to succeed, & therefore would be the Choice of *some* Men: It would also be most liable to Disorder & Tumult; & so would afford a most happy Occasion for their Oppressors to brand them with the Name of Rioters, & to take the modern Measures to quell and disperse them. But every Man who sincerely desires to have Grievances redressed must certainly prefer that mode of stating them which would probably be most easy, most regular, & most likely to succeed: And this can be no other than for the Inhabitants of Towns, if they *do* meet for such Purposes, to meet in their corporate Capacity.

'Tis an Observation of the Wise-Man — That as *Iron sharpeneth Iron, so a Man sharpeneth the Countenance of his Friend:* The Truth of which every Person of any Experience must be a Witness to. And from hence arises the Advantage of public Assemblies; where matters are freely debated, & viewed in various Lights; & where in Times of Difficulty & Danger, those who, seperate & alone, would be timid & spiritless, shall be animated with a generous Ardour & undaunted Resolution to maintain & defend their Rights. This is so obvious that we are not to wonder *Sir Edmund Andross*, among other Acts of Tyranny, should prohibit Town-meetings. And considering the great Difficulties in assembling the Inhabitants of a Town, & their doing Business regularly in any other than their corporate Capacity — if in this Way his Majesty's Subjects are forbidden to state their Grievances & seek Redress, they may almost as well be prohibited stating them at all. We are therefore constrained to say — that denying Towns have a Right in their corporate Capacity to state the Grievances they labour under, as a Means of getting them redressed, merely because they are not, in so many words, impowered by the Law to meet for such Purposes (although the Law declares their Right to meet upon 'any Business of public Concernment to the Town' —) is, in our Opinion, explaining away, by 'a nice Inference and Distinction,' a most important Privilege.

> We have not, Gentlemen, made Choice of a Committee of Correspondence, because we see no immediate Necessity for one; nevertheless, we have desired and directed the Select-Men, if Occasion should happen, to act as such a Committee, till the Town shall chuse one for that Purpose. At the same Time we think a Correspondence of the Commons Houses of Assembly in the several Provinces, as proposed by the House of Burgesses, in Virginia, is most ardently to be wished for. —
>
> Sam. Barton
> Tim. Pickering jun^{r}
> Stephen Higginson } Committee.
> N. Sparhawk
> Rich^{d} Manning

This report was adopted, and the town clerk was ordered to send an attested copy to the committee of correspondence in Boston, but the need for such a committee in Salem was not then seen. Things were changing rapidly, however, and while this meeting was acting, news was coming across the ocean that the Tea Act had been passed. By the end of the year the tea had arrived and been dumped into the harbor by the irate citizens of Boston at the famous 'Tea Party.'

Early in the new year, a bit of lawlessness occurred in Salem which the circumstances hardly justified. Judge Nathaniel Ropes of the Supreme Court, as has been said, had disclaimed any intention of accepting any part of his salary from the crown, but the unpopularity which attached to the crown officers generally had not been tempered toward him thereby. In March, 1774, he was lying desperately ill of smallpox in his house, which still stands on Essex Street.[1] Disorderly crowds gathered around the house, breaking windows and threatening to drag him out. He had already resigned his office, but it was among such scenes that the poor man died. Before the excitement he seems to have been esteemed an honorable man, and he deserved better treatment.

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[1] The *Ropes Memorial.*

For many reasons, but especially because of some letters he had written, Governor Hutchinson had become most unpopular with the representatives, and finally they petitioned the king for his removal. He was summoned to England, but his departure was delayed by the death of Lieutenant-Governor Oliver till General Gage, now appointed governor, arrived in May, 1774.

The tories could not let their firm friend Hutchinson depart without a token of their respect and affection. The gentlemen of the law, who included some in Salem, and those whom he styled 'the principal gentlemen of the town of Salem,'[1] sent him addresses expressing their approbation of his conduct. This was later held to be the sure mark of the tory, and many of these so called 'Addressers' were forced to repudiate their sentiments, while others fled. Among the barristers who felt that Hutchinson's record demanded 'the grateful acknowledgements of every true lover of his country and friend of virtue'[2] were William Pynchon and Samuel Porter of Salem. Some of the 'principal gentlemen' who signed the Salem address about May 30, 1774, and afterwards repudiated it, were John Nutting, N. Goodale, Ebenezer Putnam, Francis Cabot, N. Sparhawk, Andrew Dalglish, E. A. Holyoke, William Pynchon, Thomas Barnard, Nathaniel Dabney, William Pickman, C. Gayton Pickman, and Thomas Barnard, Jr.[3]

On April 27, little more than three weeks before Governor Gage supplanted him, Governor Hutchinson came to Salem,[4] probably to review the First Essex Regiment, of which his friend Colonel William Browne was still the commander. The governor entered the town the afternoon before, accompanied by General William Brattle and Mr. Secretary Flucker. His coach was preceded by Mr. Richard Saltonstall, high sheriff of Essex, and two of his Salem deputies on horseback, and was followed by a considerable number of the principal gentlemen of the place in their carriages.[1] The governor probably was the guest of William Browne, who had the finest house in town, and thither flocked the tory element to pay their respects. Doctor Holyoke spent the evening with him, and no doubt most of the other members of the club were there.

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[1] Hutchinson, III, 459.

[2] Quoted in Curwen: *Journal and Letters*, 428.

[3] *Essex Gazette*, June 1, 1775.

[4] *Ibid.*, April 26, 1774, no. 301.

The next day came the review of the regiment, and all the ladies and gentlemen turned out to see it. It was held on the plains between Salem and Danvers, and at twelve o'clock the regiment marched through the town to the Common, where it was reviewed at one o'clock by his excellency and the principal gentlemen. After the usual firing he was escorted to an elegant entertainment, to which the ladies were not invited, but in the evening they adjourned to the Assembly Hall on Cambridge Street [2] for a ball. It was an era of beautiful dresses for women and showy clothes and uniforms for men, and no doubt the tory element did their best to make this farewell party for the governor as brilliant as possible. The story says that 'a great number of ladies shone with their usual brilliancy.' Mrs. Holyoke was present, and does not fail to record that while she went in Doctor Gardiner's coach, she returned home in the Governor's.[3] The governor returned to Boston by way of Marblehead, where he had been invited by the Honorable Robert Hooper, Esq.[4] This was Governor

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[1] *Essex Gazette*, April 26, 1774, no. 301.

[2] Rantoul: *Historic Ball Room*, E.I.H.C., xxxi, 69.

[3] *Holyoke Diaries*, 83.

[4] *Essex Gazette*, April 26, 1774, no. 301.

Hutchinson's last visit to Salem, and within a month he sailed for England, never to return. The last native American royal governor had faded from the picture, and a British soldier was to carry on.

CHAPTER XXV

OPEN DEFIANCE — THE FIRST PROVINCIAL CONGRESS IS ORGANIZED IN SALEM

With the departure of Hutchinson and the appointment of Gage, the royal government had clearly shown its hand so far as the enforcement of its decrees was concerned, and the patriot party in America as promptly accepted the challenge. Early in May, it was rumored that the seat of government was to be transferred to Salem, and that Governor Gage had rented a house near there which seemed to confirm the idea.[1] News of the Boston Port Bill had arrived, and Boston appointed a committee to confer with gentlemen in Salem and Marblehead. In spite of tory threats, this committee came to Salem, and the results were soon seen. Salem held a town meeting on May 17, and appointed a committee of correspondence consisting of George Williams, Stephen Higginson, Timothy Pickering, Jr., Richard Derby, Jr., Captain Richard Manning, Jonathan Gardner, Jr., Warwick Palfrey, Jonathan Ropes, and Joseph Sprague. Thorndike Proctor, Jr., was the second man nominated, but the town would not have him. The following vote was then passed:

> Voted That it is the opinion of this town that if the other colonies come into a joint resolution to stop all importations from Great Britain or exportations to Great Britain, and every part of the West-Indies, till the act for blocking up the harbour of Boston be repealed, the same will prove the salvation of North America and her liberties: on the other hand if they continue their exports & imports, there is high reason to fear, that fraud, power & the most odious oppression will

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[1] *Essex Gazette*, May 10, 1774, no. 303.

> rise triumphant over right, justice, social happiness & freedom.

This was Salem's retort to the Boston Port Bill, and the beginning of the so-called 'Solemn League and Covenant' endorsed by Boston ten days later and denounced by Gage in a proclamation in July.[1] It was also the beginning of a revolutionary organization. This group of strong and able men was ready to lead the resistance, first passive and respectful and finally active, which was to follow.

The British ministry, it soon appeared, had seen fit not only to pass the Boston Port Bill, but to amend the charter of the province in some serious particulars. The council was no longer to be elected by the General Court subject to the governor's approval, but to be appointed directly by the king by writ of *mandamus*. The governor was also directed to transfer the General Court to Salem, and finally town meetings other than the annual ones were to be convened only by his consent.

Late in May, before news of these changes had arrived, the House assembled in Boston. Twenty-six councillors were elected, of whom Richard Derby, Jr., was one. Thirteen of these were disallowed by the governor, but the House made no attempt to fill their places. Jonathan Ropes, Jr., took the place of Richard Derby, Jr., in the House. After a four-day session, the governor adjourned the House to meet on June 1 in Salem 'by the King's particular command.' So, as in the days of Governor Burnet, nearly fifty years before, the seat of government was again transferred to Salem.

The House met in the old Court House, which stood just where the south end of the tunnel now is. The council occupied a smaller room in the same building, and Governor Gage used that as his office.

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[1] *Essex Gazette*, July 4, 1774, no. 310.

On Thursday, June 2, General Gage arrived in Salem, accompanied by numerous gentlemen from Boston in their carriages. Many gentlemen of Salem and Marblehead met him on the road, and with the civil and military officers made a grand procession. He was escorted to Colonel Browne's house on Essex Street, where he received the compliments of many gentlemen on his succession to the government. Then he retired to the beautiful house in Danvers belonging to Robert Hooper of Marblehead (later known as the Collins house), where he took up his residence. Up to 1930 this house remained practically in the condition in which he occupied it.

Two days later came the king's birthday, which was properly celebrated, and on the following Monday the gentlemen of the town gave a brilliant ball at the Assembly Hall [1] for one hundred and ten gentlemen and as many ladies,[2] which the governor attended.

Things began to be gay in town for the tory element. Mr. Thomas Flucker, the secretary, and his wife dined with the Brownes and the Holyokes, and most of the royalist group were there. Colonel Farnham and his lady added a touch of military color to the parties. The Mascarenes, the Pynchons, and the Debloises were usually in on the parties, but the Lyndes and the Pickmans seem to have stood a bit aloof. They are not mentioned as present.[3] The secretary gave some parties, but Governor Gage does not seem to have entertained at the official residence in Danvers.

It would seem as if the tory element had committed themselves sufficiently in the address to Hutchinson, but they had still to write an address to General Gage commending to him the trade and welfare of the port of Salem.

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[1] *Essex Gazette*, no. 306.

[2] *Holyoke Diaries*, 88.

[3] *Ibid.*, 83.

Forty-eight men signed this, and it was printed in the *Essex Gazette*.[1] The signers were:

John Sargent
Jacob Ashton
Wm. Wetmore
James Grant
Henry Higginson
David Britton
P. G. Kast
Weld Gardner
Nath'l Dabney
Richard Nickolls
Wm. Cabot
Cabot Gerrish
Wm. Gerrish
Rowland Savage
Wm. Lilly
Jona. Goodhue
Nathan Goodale
Wm. Pickman
C. Gayton Pickman
Nat. Sparhawk
Wm. Vans
Timothy Orne
Richard Routh
Stephen Higginson
John Prince
Geo. Deblois
Andrew Dalglish
Joseph Blaney
Archelaus Putnam
Sam'l Porter
Tho. Poynton
Sam'l Flagg
Benj. Lynde
Wm Brown
John Turner
P. Frye
Francis Cabot
Wm. Pynchon
John Fisher
John Mascarene
E. A. Holyoke
Jos. Bowditch
Eben'r Putnam
S. Curwen
John Nutting
Jos. Dowse
Benj. Pickman
Henry Gardner

The *Gazette*, in commenting upon it, taunts the tories with not giving out the address to Hutchinson with the full list of names, which does not seem to be available anywhere.

The following week the patriot party printed an address repudiating the idea of benefiting by the closing of the port of Boston in the following spirited terms:

> SALEM, June 21.
>
> *The following Address was presented to his Excellency the Governor on Saturday last.*
>
> To his Excellency THOMAS GAGE, Esq., Captain-General and Commander in Chief in and over His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, and Lieutenant-General of His Majesty's Forces.
>
> *May it please your Excellency*,
>
> We who are merchants and freeholders in the town of Salem, beg leave to present you our dutiful respects on your appointment to the government of this province. The universal tribute of thanks and applause paid you for the wis-

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[1] June 14, no. 307.

dom, mildness and exact regularity of your conduct in another command, cannot fail to excite the most just expectations that this province will enjoy the happy fruits of your benignity.

We are deeply affected with the sense of our public calamities: But the miseries that are now rapidly hastening on our brethren in the capital of the province greatly excite our commiseration; and we hope your Excellency will use your endeavours to prevent a further accumulation of evils on that already sorely distressed people.

By shutting up the port of Boston some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither, and to our benefit: but Nature, in the formation of our harbour, forbids our becoming rivals in commerce to that convenient mart. And were it otherwise, — we must be dead to every idea of justice — lost to all the feelings of humanity — could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes on the ruin of our suffering neighbours. But so far from receiving a benefit, we are greatly injured by the shutting up the harbour of Boston, as it deprives us of a market for much the largest part of our West-India imports; and there is not a town in the province but will feel the ill effects of it. Permit us then, Sir, to apply to your clemency and justice to afford us every alleviation in your power, and to procure for us every possible relief from this extensive mischief.

We account it the greatest unhappiness that this province, which has ever been foremost in loyalty to the Kings of Britain — in its efforts to defend their territories and enlarge their dominions — should be the first to feel our sovereign's severest displeasure. Our fathers fled from oppression, braved every danger, and here began a settlement on bare creation. Almost incredible are the fatigues and difficulties they encountered to subdue a dreary wilderness, filled with savage beasts, and yet more savage men: But by their invincible resolution they rose superior to them all; and by their astonishing efforts greatly facilitated the settlement of the other British colonies in America. Yet, Sir, we speak it with grief, the sons are checked and dishonoured for exhibiting proofs of their inheriting some portion of that spirit which in their fathers produced such astonishing effects.

A happy union with Great-Britain is the wish of all the colonies. 'Tis their unspeakable grief that it has in any degree been interrupted. We earnestly desire to repair the breach. We ardently pray that harmony may be restored. And for these ends, every measure compatible with the dignity and safety of British subjects we shall gladly adopt.

We assure your Excellency we shall make it our constant endeavour to preserve the peace and promote the welfare of the province; and hereby we shall best advance the interest of our sovereign.

In these times the administration of government must be peculiarly arduous and difficult; but your's we wish may be as easy as the nature of things will possibly admit, and the event happy; and that your public labours may be crowned with the noblest reward — the voluntary, disinterested applauses of a whole free people.

Atwater Phippen
George Abbot
James Barr
James Nichols
Jos. Henfield
John Dutch
George Dodge, jun.
Joshua Dodge
John Pickering, jun.
Sam'l Holman
Stephen Cook
Joseph Mansfield
John Bickford
Edward Lang
Benja. Ropes
Aaron Wait
Joseph Clough
Benja. Goodhue
Eben'r Procter
Jona. Buffum
T. Procter, jun.

Walter P. Bartlett
Lewis Hunt
Wm. West
Wm. West, jun.
John Symonds
Robert Foster
John Felt
James Symonds, jun.
Jona. Harraden
Jacob Crowninshield
Edward Gibaut
John Hathorne
Peter Chever
John Gooll
George Bickford
Edmund Bickford
Benja. Daland
David Felt
Abijah Northey
Robert Peele
Mascoll Williams

Richard Derby
Jona. Gardner
Rich'd Derby, jun.
Elias Hasket Derby
Warwick Palfray
George Williams
Tho's Mason
Jona. Andrew
Nath'l Richardson
Jona. Gardner, jun.
John Andrew
David Phippen
John Fisk
Sam'l Phippen
Joseph Chipman
Ab'm Watson
Wm. Browne
Geo. Crowninshield
Miles Greenwood
John Hodges
Joseph Lambert

Robert Procter
Stephen Osborn
John Worden
Rich'd Pike
Matthew Mansfield
David Northey
James Gould
John Sanders
John Gardner
Daniel Malloon
Miles Ward, jun.
Nath'l Osgood
Benja. Ward, 3d.
Sam'l Blyth
Jona. Nutting
Fred'k Cumbs
Joseph Symonds
Michael Driver
Jona. Ropes
David Masury
Abraham Rand
David Mason
William Northey
Eben'r Beckford
Banja. Chapman
Daniel Chever
Tim. Pickering, jun.
Israel Dodge
James Cook
Rich'd Manning
Joseph Sprague
Sam'l Ward
Samuel Hall
David Ropes
Eph'm Ingalls
Joshua Ward
Sam'l Carlton
Sam'l Ingersoll
Edward Smith
Wm. Slewman
Jonathan Verry
Larkin Dodge
Jona. Lambert
George Dodge
Edw'd Allen
John Gardner, 3d
James Diman, jun.
Clifford Crowninshield
William Becket
Stephen Mascoll
John Touzell
Stephen Webb
Sam'l Webb
John Barton
Joseph Hodges
George Peal
John Bray
Rich'd Ward
Dudley Woodbridge
Miles Ward
Abner Chase
Sam'l Field

The signatures are worth examining, as they give a clue to the party lines and indicate that among thinking men the patriotic sentiment predominated in about the proportion of five to two. It is not fair to classify all those who signed the first address as finally enemies of their country, for a number of them, of their own free will or under pressure, recanted of their error, and not a few did loyal patriotic service during the Revolution. Practically all were sincere and honorable men, acting from a sense of duty and not moved by any thought of personal gain.

Under the circumstances, it could hardly be expected that the session of the House of Representatives would be particularly co-operative. Secretary Flucker had written the Salem selectmen on May 26 to make provision for their accommodation,[1] and they duly met on June 1. Most of their time was devoted to considering measures to relieve the inhabitants of Boston from the effects of the Boston Port Bill, and to resist the punitive measures which had been enacted by Parliament. They urged the people to renounce the consumption of tea and of British goods in general. They also passed a resolution urging the several colonies to meet in a Continental Congress. When General Gage learned how they were employed, he sent Secretary Flucker posthaste to the Court House, to dissolve the House, and ordered the troops, presumably his personal guard, to proceed thither to enforce his message.[2] Flucker found the door locked, for the House was not quite through with its work and had directed its messenger 'to keep the door fast.' Flucker stood on the stairs outside and read the message.[3] The House adjourned before the troops arrived. This happened just one year to a day before the battle of Bunker Hill.

In this house were all the most distinguished patriots of the province. Samuel Adams headed the committee to consider the Boston Port Bill. Before they adjourned, they requested the towns to place in the hands of their speaker five hundred pounds to pay the cost of delegates to the Continental Congress, levied on the basis of the usual province tax; and right there the taxing power and the revenues of the province slipped out of the hands of the royal governor.[4]

Gage remained in Danvers all summer, but he could not have been in a very gracious temper. Early in July, he issued a proclamation against the 'Solemn League and

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[1] *Salem Town Archives*, no. 1126.

[2] See Felt, 2d, II, 552.

[3] *Essex Gazette*, no. 308.

[4] A. C. Goodell, Jr.: *Centennial Anniversary of the Provincial Legislature*, E.I.H.C., XIII, 14.

Covenant' not to import any British goods, and a few days later the Sons of Liberty broke into a shop, seized a cask of tea, and scattered some eighty pounds about the streets. The cask was mounted on the top of the whipping-post as an added touch of insult.[1] Things were evidently getting warm, and soon Salem had its first evidence of military force. On July 21, two companies of the Sixty-Fourth Regiment were ordered down from Boston and landed on the Neck. The next day they marched through the town and camped on the plain near General Gage's residence.[2]

Thus reinforced, Gage proceeded to issue a proclamation against sedition and licentiousness, and as the list of so-called *mandamus* councillors had arrived, they were summoned to take the oath of office. Nine were sworn in on August 9, and among these were Andrew Oliver and William Browne of Salem.[3] Of the thirty-six, only twenty-four accepted office and only ten were sworn in.[4] Practically all were forced to retire very shortly. Andrew Oliver resigned in August.[5]

Just after this, the Fifty-Ninth Regiment under Colonel Hamilton arrived in Salem from Halifax and encamped near the fort. At six o'clock that evening, the colonel entertained some gentlemen of the town with a band concert.[6] With them came Earl Percy, and he was, as always, the courteous gentleman. A day or two later, there was a bad fire on Front Street in which five or six shops were burned, and Earl Percy with great promptness volunteered the help of his soldiers, which created a very favorable impression in town.[7] The camp on the Neck now became a social center for the tory ladies. One day Mrs. Mascarene, Mrs. Holyoke, and Mrs. Pynchon took Miss Hutchinson, the daughter of the recent governor, down for a visit to the camp, and were invited to take tea in the fort.[1] No doubt the British officers were gallant and charming and the ladies got a real thrill out of meeting a real earl. Earls were very scarce in provincial Massachusetts, and they had never had any native higher than a baronet.

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[1] *Essex Gazette*, nos. 310, 312. [2] *Ibid.*, no. 313. [3] *Ibid.*, nos. 315, 316.

[4] Palfrey, v, 535; see also Goodell, E.I.H.C., xiii, 23, note.

[5] *Essex Gazette*, no. 318; *Salem Gazette*, Sept. 2, 1774.

[6] William Wetmore: *Interleaved Almanac*, E.I.H.C., xliii, 116.

[7] *Essex Gazette*, no. 316.

But right in the middle of this pleasant time, the patriots decided on a county convention in Ipswich to discuss the recent Acts of Parliament. The selectmen had been forbidden to summon a town meeting, so the committee of correspondence posted notices for the freeholders to assemble on August 24 for the choosing of delegates. When the governor heard of this, he was in a towering rage. On the morning of the meeting, he went to Colonel Browne's house and sent the high sheriff to summon the committee before him. He told them peremptorily that they must disperse the meeting.[2] They admitted posting the notices, but said they had no control over the meeting, and that when the freeholders came together, they would do as they chose. Gage replied, 'with much vehemence of voice and gesture,' that he came to execute the laws, not to dispute them, and that if the people did not disperse, the sheriff would go first, and if he did not succeed, he (Gage) would support him.[3] As a matter of fact, he had ordered out the troops on the Neck,[4] and had directed that eighty men be brought as far as Newbury Street, where the Hawthorne Hotel now stands.[5] But while the general threatened the committee, the meeting was held and adjourned. Richard Derby, Jr., J. Pickering, Jr., Jonathan Ropes, Captain Timothy Pickering, Captain Jonathan Gardner, Jr., and Captain Richard Manning were the delegates chosen. It is interesting to note that Marblehead had sent word that her men were 'ready to come at a minute's warning' if needed, so even as early as this resistance was contemplated.[1]

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[1] *Holyoke Diaries*, 84.

[2] John Jenks to Cotton Tufts, E.I.H.C., xlvii, 230.

[3] *Essex Gazette*, no. 318.

[4] E.I.H.C., xlvii, 231.

[5] John White: *Interleaved Almanac*, E.I.H.C., xlix, 92.

The governor immediately ordered Colonel Peter Frye to have the committee arrested, and he issued the warrants. Two of the committee, Joseph Sprague and Timothy Pickering, Jr., duly gave bonds for their appearance; the rest refused and chose to go to jail, but Colonel Frye was afraid to commit them.[2] The governor declared they should be committed and that the troops should be brought to town to guard the jail. The people declared they should not, and it was well known that the people were arming. The tories were greatly alarmed, for the antagonism was against them rather than the soldiers.[3] In a few days all were released without further action.

This was General Gage's last effort in Salem, and presently he moved his furniture back to Boston and departed.[4] It is to be hoped that he heard of the closing words of the resolves passed by the Ipswich convention before he left, namely, 'We hold our liberties too dear to be sported with and are therefore most seriously determined to defend them.' The governor was scarcely out of town when a ship arrived with thirty odd chests of tea. The committee of correspondence, which was practically governing the town, promptly placed a guard so that none of the objectionable herb could be landed, and three days later it was sent to Halifax.[1]

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[1] Letter of John Andrew, Aug. 26, M.H.S.P., VIII, 347; Allen French, *First Year of the American Revolution*, 37.

[2] John Jenks to Cotton Tufts, E.I.H.C., XLVII, 231.

[3] E.I.H.C., XLVII, 231.

[4] *Ibid.*, XIII, 18, 19.

On September 10, the Fifty-Ninth Regiment, which had been encamped on the Neck, folded its tents and marched through the town with fife and drum at five o'clock in the morning[2] to what is now Peabody Square, where it was joined by the two companies of the Sixty-Fourth, which had been encamped near the governor's residence. Then they all marched off for Boston,[3] but Essex County was not clear of British troops, for a civilian was badly wounded by the bayonet of a soldier in the Company at Marblehead as late as September 25.[4]

However, there was still some mopping up to be attended to. The very day after Gage left, Judge Peter Frye publicly apologized for issuing the warrants for the committee of correspondence, and agreed to hold no more commissions under the new act of government.[5] William Vans next day asked to be forgiven for signing the address to Hutchinson. Andrew Oliver resigned from the Council August 26.[6] A committee appointed by the Ipswich convention waited on the Honorable William Browne and asked him to resign as councillor and judge. He alone stood firm, and replied that he would act 'with honor and integrity.'[7] One must admire his force of character, for he never yielded, and thereby lost all his great estate and died an exile from the land of his fathers for five generations.

The governor had ordered the General Court to meet in Salem again October 5; but before that day arrived, he was sure he did not want it to meet, and it would have been very difficult to get his unpopular council to Salem, so he issued a proclamation excusing the representatives from meeting.[1] In spite of this proclamation, ninety of the elected members met in Salem on the appointed day. The governor, of course, had not come, but to avoid an appearance of unseemly haste the representatives spent the first day in conference. That night occurred the worst fire there ever was in Salem up to the conflagration of 1914. It just missed burning the Court House, where the delegates were meeting.[2]

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[1] *Essex Gazette*, no. 320.
[2] E.I.H.C., XLVIII.
[3] *Essex Gazette*, no. 320.
[4] *Salem Gazette*, Sept. 30.
[5] *Ibid.*, Sept. 16, 1774.
[6] *Ibid.*, Sept. 2.
[7] *Ibid.*

Twenty-four buildings just west of the Court House lay in smoking ruins when the assembly, which was not legally a House of Representatives, met next morning but it proceeded at once to business. Most modern legislative bodies would have been paralyzed by the magnitude of the disaster before their very faces. These men had strength of character enough to proceed with the matters they had assembled for. The fire was not their affair. John Hancock was chosen chairman and Benjamin Lincoln clerk, and they then took up Gage's proclamation. In clear, concise language they asserted that 'in all good governments' the grievances they set forth were the greatest reasons for convening a parliament, and that the governor's proclamation was but another reason for vigorous action. They then voted to resolve themselves into a Provincial Congress to determine on such measures as would tend to 'promote the true interests of His Majesty and the prosperity of the province.' [3] In short, they eliminated Governor Gage from the picture, repudiated the authority of Parliament, and reaffirmed the right of the people to institute their own government. Then they adjourned to the safer precincts of Concord, where about the same men elected the same officers as the permanent organization of the

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[1] *Essex Gazette*, no. 323. [2] See page 341.

[3] *Journals of the Provincial Congress*, Oct. 7.

Provincial Congress. At this point Salem again ceased to be the seat of government, but it must never be overlooked that the Provincial Congress which organized the Revolution in Massachusetts first met and was itself organized in Salem.

With the departure of the troops, the fight for control of the town was over. The tory party was completely subdued, and the whigs or patriots were in full control. On October 18, a new and greatly enlarged committee of safety and correspondence was elected. Of the nine former members, Jonathan Ropes had been serving in the House of Representatives; Richard Derby, Jr., and Captain Richard Manning were now elected to the Provincial Congress; Joseph Sprague, Warwick Palfrey, Timothy Pickering, Jr., and George Williams were re-elected. Jonathan Gardner, Jr., and Stephen Higginson are the only ones not accounted for, but Gardner was a stalwart patriot and Higginson had probably moved to Boston. The Committee was enlarged to thirty members, and many new names appear in the group, such as Dudley Woodbridge, Jonathan Peele, Jr., Thomas Mason, Jacob Ashton, Samuel Webb, William Northey, two Felts, and four of the Wards. The names give an impression that the shipmasters were the controlling element.[1]

While J. Pickering, Jr., and Jonathan Ropes had represented the town in the assembly which had met on October 5, two men of stronger caliber were now chosen to the Provincial Congress in the persons of Richard Derby, Jr., and Captain Richard Manning.

At a town meeting in December, a committee was named to carry into effect 'the resolves of the American Congress' and 'the resolves of the Provincial Congress.' It was further voted that the collectors of taxes here pay no

[1] List in Felt, 1st, 564.

more monies to Harrison Gray, Esq., till further order. This was in spite of the fact that the provincial treasurer had ordered the sheriff to proceed against all constables who did not pay monies to him.[1] The entire civil power was thus firmly removed from the royal government and replaced in the hands of the people and their representatives. The attempt to establish a bureaucratic government from the outside had failed. If this free people now governing themselves were to be brought under the control of Great Britain, it must be by force of arms. They were in full control of their affairs. Those on the outside must force the issue if they wished to dominate America. It only remained for the Americans to arm for the conflict if they intended to make good their position, and they proceeded to set about it.

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[1] *Salem Gazette*, Nov. 11, 1774.

CHAPTER XXVI

TOWN AFFAIRS IN THE SEVENTEEN-SEVENTIES

Either business got better or the advent of a local medium made it easier to advertise one's wares, for the *Essex Gazette*, soon after it started, began to present a longer list of merchants who solicited patronage. All the old retail merchants were still doing business and a group of new ones, or at any rate other ones, appeared. Samuel Flagg, William Perkins, Nathaniel Sparhawk, and John and Andrew Cabot appear among the new general retail goods merchants who advertised. There were also new notices of specialty merchants: James Barr offered cocoa; John Beane, imported goods, candles, shoes, and beeswax; James Hastie, English and India goods; Richard Wyer, ship chandlery; and Richard Derby, salt, anchors, and lemons by the box.

Two brokers had appeared in town who would sell almost any goods on commission. John Badger kept an auction room on Ruck Street near the State House, as the Court House then came to be called and Russell printed the *Salem Gazette* in the second story. This must have been near the corner of Norman Street. Badger's rival was Thomas Carnes, who kept a place at the present corner of Derby and Union Streets, near Long Wharf.

There was a group of cabinet-makers on Water Street, now Front Street, near the foot of Central Street. Thomas Needham and Nathaniel Felt were there, and also Miles Hubbard, chairmaker, till they were all burned out in the fire of 1774, as were Jonathan Haraden, a cooper, and Jonathan Mansfield, an anchor smith.[1] Much furniture built here was exported to the Southern colonies and the West Indies, and no doubt this helped to keep these cabinet-makers going.

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[1] *Salem Gazette*, Aug. 26, 1774.

The means of communication were also improving. J. Hovey had gone into the horse and chaise business and was also running a stage to Marblehead; Josiah Flagg, if sufficiently encouraged, would take you to the Winnisimet Ferry for three shillings fourpence, lawful money, twice a week; Robert Davis was ready to ride as a carrier twice a week to Haverhill. Evidently the town wanted to keep in touch with its neighbors, but not till 1782 did Ezra Burrill start the first direct regular stage to Boston.

The most conspicuous innovation seems to have been the increase of what are now known as 'personal services.' Doctor Louis had come to town as a dentist and oculist. It is to be hoped that he followed the Scriptures and treated an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. It would have been terrible if he had, in a moment of thoughtlessness, mixed his professions and extracted an eye instead of a tooth. He turned out to be a quack and a burglar.[1] In a somewhat less personal occupation, Courtney and Son, late of London, advertised as tailors and Samuel Nunn also of London, as a blacksmith and whitesmith.

The young ladies were best provided for, however, for Samuel Blythe ran a sort of combination boarding-house and young ladies' school near the Episcopal Church. William Turner, also late of London, was willing to discuss the teaching of dancing to ladies and gentlemen, presumably with intent to be employed as a dancing-master. Elizabeth Gauden frankly admitted she wanted to teach young ladies sewing, and it is to be feared Mascoll Williams was leaning toward a beauty parlor, for, in

[1] *Salem Gazette*, July 22, 1774.

addition to 'Golden Medical Cephalic Snuff' he carried 'the true Pomade de Venus.' [1]

To revert to more serious matters, smallpox had been a more or less serious menace all during the early years in New England, as it had been all over the world. Apparently, there was always smallpox, as well as most other diseases, in the West Indies, and ships' crews were constantly bringing it back. The value of inoculation was well known to the more intelligent people, but it was far more serious than modern vaccination. As it practically involved a light case of smallpox, it was dreaded by the more ignorant, and not altogether wrongly, for one or two per cent of those inoculated actually died. The mortality among those catching the disease was, of course, far higher.

In the summer of 1773, there was a serious smallpox scare in Salem and Marblehead; and no wonder, for eighteen out of twenty-eight seized in Salem died of it after being taken to the pesthouse.[2] A hospital was built in the Great Pastures, and a private hospital, called the Essex Hospital, was started on Cat Island off Marblehead, by votes of the towns of Salem and Marblehead [3] for inoculation against this disease. The money was subscribed by some four hundred leading men of both towns, but the idea was very unpopular with the common people of Marblehead. There was much rioting and disorder by persons who, through ignorance and fear, dreaded the extension of the disease to the town of Marblehead. Trouble began in January, 1774. First, some persons were suspected of stealing clothes that had been put out to air and bringing them ashore. One night they were caught, and next morning they were tarred and feathered and placed facing each other in a cart at the Marblehead Town House, where nearly a thousand people were gathered, chiefly in uniform. Headed by a drummer and fifer, they started a march for Salem, which they reached about twelve o'clock. Here they were joined by more groups and paraded the principal streets. A great white flag was added to the procession, but they all left for Marblehead about one o'clock. The following night another man was tarred and feathered in connection with the smallpox scare.[1] Perhaps a little advertisement that appeared the previous week [2] had some connection with this riot:

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[1] Advertisements, *Essex Gazette*, 1774.

[2] *Holyoke Diaries*, 81.

[3] *Town Records*, Aug. 16, 1774.

> WANTED — A quantity of damaged feathers — also an old one-horse cart.

Soon after, there was nearly a riot because some people released from the hospital tried to land in the town and were forcibly prevented by men who waded out into the water.

It would seem as if the four paraded through Salem should have had enough trouble, but a couple of months later one of them was again caught bringing clothes from Cat Island. He was temporarily rescued by the selectmen, but that night he was dragged out of bed to the whipping-post and whipped most cruelly.[3]

A meeting was held in Marblehead to consider ways of putting an end to these disorders, and the proprietors agreed to close the hospital, but the second night after, twenty men in disguise rowed out and set it on fire deliberately in many places, and even tried to prevent the people from escaping.[4]

Several weeks later, a deputy sheriff took off a fishing vessel in Marblehead Harbor, two men who were charged

[1] *Essex Gazette*, no. 287.

[2] *Ibid.*, no. 286.

[3] *Ibid.*, no. 297.

[4] *Ibid.*, no. 288.

by the proprietors of the hospital with a share in the crime, and locked them up in Salem jail. Almost immediately small bands began to trickle into Salem from Marblehead and gather near the jail. The colonel of the militia on request sent out his drummers to beat to arms, but before the militia could gather, the mob furiously attacked the jail and carried the prisoners away in triumph to Marblehead. The next day the mob forced the gentlemen who brought the charge to agree never to bring it again.[1]

The end was not yet, however. Colonel Richard Saltonstall of Haverhill, high sheriff of Essex, ordered his deputy in Salem to summon the people of Salem to appear in School Street (now Washington Street) with arms and ammunition at nine o'clock, ready to march to Marblehead. Meanwhile, six or eight hundred Marbleheaders assembled to repel invasion, but a group of Marblehead gentlemen rushed over to Salem and smoothed the matter over.[2] Marblehead seems to have been an obstreperous place.

During the controversy the *Essex Gazette* used far more space in each issue for correspondence about whether inoculation was beneficial or harmful than on all these riots put together! Yet we pride ourselves that we are more interested in science than anybody ever has been, while our real interest is crime and murder. It is safe to assume that the modern newspapers would have devoted the whole front page to the riot, while letters from scientific men on inoculation would be used to fill odd corners of the sporting and financial pages, if published at all.

A disaster of another variety overwhelmed the town on October 6, 1774. Colonel Peter Frye's warehouse stood on Essex Street, then King's Street, nearly opposite

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[1] *Essex Gazette*, no. 292.

[2] *Ibid.*, no. 293.

Barton Square, and at three o'clock in the morning it was found to be on fire. It was soon burning fiercely and spread to Doctor Whitaker's meeting-house next east of it, and so from building to building till the corner of what is now Washington Street was reached. It jumped across Essex Street and spread rapidly toward the Town House. The three little engines were pumped with might and main, but it must be remembered that they were merely to throw the water upon the fire, and the tubs that supplied the pump were in the engine itself. These tubs had to be kept replenished by the long lines of bucket-passers from the nearest water supply, which was probably the harbor near the foot of Norman Street. It must have been wearisome work in the gray dawn of a cold October morning to stand in a long line and pass heavy wet buckets from hand to hand, but every man, woman, boy, and girl was there, except for the group of the strongest men on the pumps.

On the north side the fire was stopped by the breadth of Washington Street, then called School Street, but on the south side it was raging on. The physical endurance of the Salem folk was fast ebbing away. But Marblehead had seen the fire, and with the same tumultuous energy with which they had joined the smallpox riots, the Marbleheaders came roaring into town some hundreds strong, with two more engines. They manned the engines and filled out the gaps in the bucket lines. Boatloads of Beverly people came as fast as they could cross the river. The Town House was scorched and smoking, the cornice already on fire, and the houses down Essex Street were being cleared of furniture,[1] but the strong arms of the Marbleheaders turned the scale and the fire was stopped.[2] The town could well afford to invite the Marbleheaders to breakfast at the tavern, and paid for a hundred and thirty-two breakfasts, three gallons of West India rum, and three of gin![1]

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[1] *Holyoke Diaries*, 84.

[2] William Wetmore: *Diary*, E.I.H.C., XLIII, 116.

Some six months or so later, the day after Bunker Hill, the Salem people, seeing a great smoke over Marblehead, broke up their meeting and started at once with engines and buckets to return the favor, but were stopped halfway over by the word that it was only a grass fire after all.[2]

The Salem fire was a fearful loss to the town. Besides Doctor Whitaker's church, the custom house, eight dwellings, and fourteen stores, shops, and barns had been consumed. Judge Lynde estimated the loss at £5850, and he would have figured conservatively.[3] At modern prices three or four times that sum would not be too high. The *Salem Gazette* figured the loss at £20,000.[4]

One of the results of the fire was that it brought to a head another dispute that had been simmering in the Third Church. After the excitement over the expulsion of Mr. Fiske and his adherents, things had settled down under the ministrations of the Reverend Dudley Leavitt and the Reverend John Huntington, but they boiled up again with the choice of Doctor Nathaniel Whitaker, who was installed in 1769. Previous to his settlement the church had voted unanimously to adopt 'his form of church government,' and though he was frank enough about it, probably a good many of the parish did not realize that it was Presbyterian. When this became clear, some forty or fifty families withdrew and formed a new society. The next year a majority of those remaining, among whom Miles Ward and Isaac Williams were perhaps the most prominent, applied for admission to the

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[1] *Town Records*, Oct., 1774.

[2] Doctor Holyoke's Letter, June 18, 1775, in *Holyoke Diaries*, 90.

[3] Lynde: *Diaries*, 204.

[4] *Salem Gazette*, Oct. 7, 1774.

Boston Presbytery and were admitted; so what is now the Tabernacle Church actually became a Presbyterian Church, and so remained for eleven years.

Doctor Whitaker was a man of great energy and determination, or he could not have carried his church with him into the Presbyterian form of church government. He was also radical in many other ways and was a very ardent patriot. From the time of the burning of the church, he never had a fixed salary, but depended on the weekly collections. His idea of a new church building was something after the model of Whitefield's church in London, namely, a large square structure with a pyramidal roof and a dome and belfry. It was not decently finished for some years afterwards, but from it originated the name 'Tabernacle.' The Reverend George Whitefield's last visit to Salem in 1770 may have had its influence on this.

Those who left Doctor Whitaker were a pretty prominent group, and included Benjamin Ropes, Timothy Pickering, Jr., John Gardner, Daniel Cheever, and several others. After the church burned, they met in the old Assembly House on Cambridge Street and finally purchased it. There they worshiped till in 1804 they built the very beautiful Mackintire Church which, the older people in Salem remember, was burned about thirty-five years ago. This society claimed the title of the 'Third Church,' just as Doctor Fiske had claimed the title of the 'First Church,' but eventually it organized as 'The Proprietors of the New South Meeting House.'

The Reverend Daniel Hopkins was settled as the pastor and was ordained on November 18, 1778. Doctor Hopkins was a native of Waterbury, Connecticut, and a graduate of Yale in 1758. He came to Salem in 1768 and preached for a time to the Third Church before Doctor Whitaker.

He became a member of the Provincial Congress in 1775, at the urgent request of the townspeople, and this delayed his ordination. He remained as pastor for nearly forty years. He was a quiet, peaceable man, generally liked, and did admirable service to the church.[1]

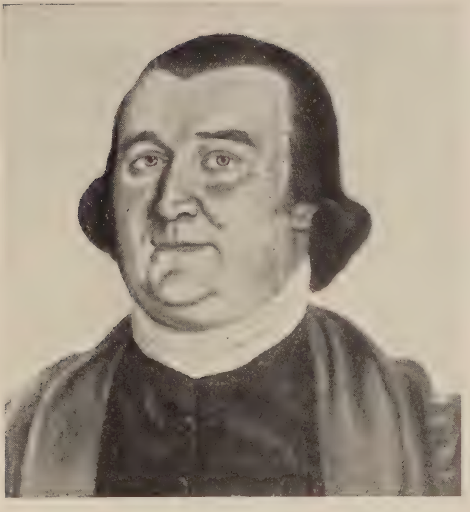
It was during this period of the seventies that another church was organized, which in point of age was the sixth religious society. In 1770, there was considerable division in the First Church as to the choice of a colleague for Doctor Barnard. Finally, Doctor Asa Dunbar was selected, but a part of the church preferred Doctor Barnard's son, Thomas Barnard, Jr., and agreed to separate and found a new church. As the 'Proprietors of the North Meeting-House,' they bought land on the corner of North and Lynde Streets and built a wooden meeting-house, in 1772. This was known as the 'large new meeting-house,' and was used for many civic occasions. A nine-hundred-pound bell was specially imported from Europe, and duly installed in the belfry.[2]

The separation was entirely harmonious, and the most friendly relations continued between the two societies. Fifty-two members of the First Society were dismissed to form the North Church, but these were a rather prominent and substantial group of citizens. They included the Honorable William Browne, Doctor Holyoke, Colonel Benjamin Pickman and his brother, Judge Samuel Curwen, Joseph Blaney, Joshua Ward, John Nutting, and many others with their wives and children. The original list has a somewhat tory tinge, but there were also many patriots in the group.

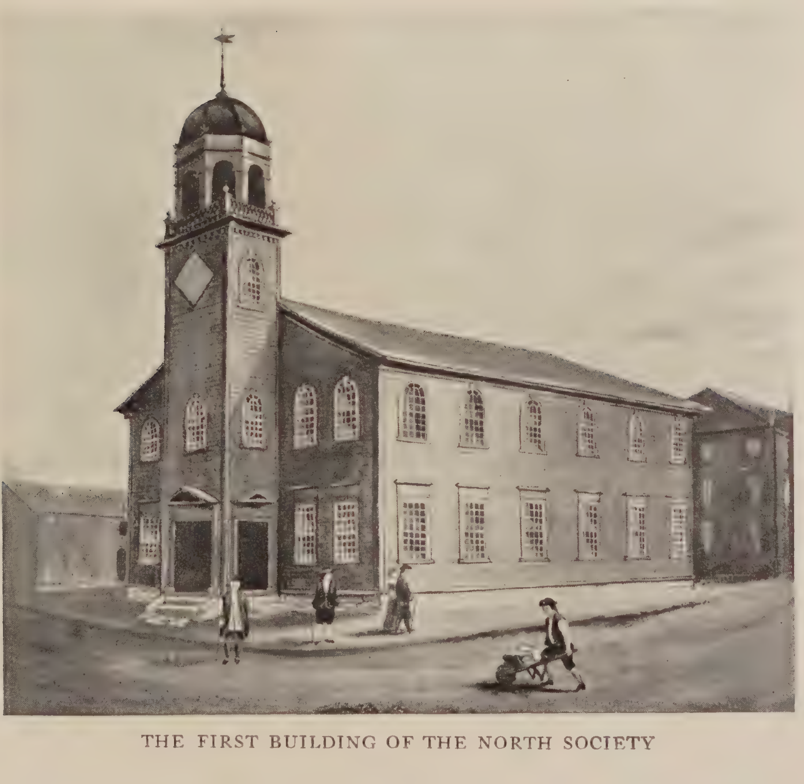
A new movement in education appeared early in the seventies in the shape of privately supported schools. After Doctor Whitaker was called to the Tabernacle

[1] Latting: *Hopkins Marriages*, E.I.H.C., xix, 116, note.

[2] Felt, 1st, 482.



DR. THOMAS BARNARD, 1748–1814



THE FIRST BUILDING OF THE NORTH SOCIETY

Church, and before the South Church was organized, Doctor Daniel Hopkins, who had been preaching, was left without a parish, and started the first female private day school in the town.[1] This continued for a couple of years, till his church and patriotic duties engaged his attention, when Charles Shimmin, a native of the Isle of Man, who came here as a deputy collector,[2] opened a school.[3]

At about this time also, Madam, or, as she was known, Ma'am Babbidge (Mrs. Susannah), was keeping a school at the east end of the town for boys and girls, and kept it for some forty years. She lived in a house on the north side of Essex Street, just below Union Street. She was so fat that she could not walk about the room, so kept a long pole to rap unruly youngsters without getting up. Her daughter, Miss Lydia, kept a more select school for the education of young ladies in another room. This educational institution lasted till nearly 1800.[4]

Mrs. John Higginson and her daughter, Hitty, started a school when she returned after the Revolution, which lasted for sixty years or so and was a very notable institution. They were both very cultivated and intelligent ladies, and many of the best-educated ladies and gentlemen of the latter part of the nineteenth century in Salem remembered their instruction with gratitude.[5] This started a chain of private schools, of which the dame schools lasted the longest. That kept for nearly thirty years by Miss Jane P. Phillips and her sister, Miss Elizabeth G. Phillips, at 17 Chestnut Street, which lasted down into the nineties of the last century, was perhaps the most distinguished. Their pupils were noted for their cultured tastes, fine handwriting, and excellent deportment. Among them are ladies distinguished for intelligence, grace, beauty, and courtesy, in both England and America.

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[1] Felt, 1st, 476. [2] Leavitt: *Essex Lodge*, E.I.H.C., III, 91.

[3] Felt, 1st, 481.

[4] Robert Rantoul: *Reminiscences*, with B. F. Browne's notes, E.I.H.C., V, 149, 198, 201.

[5] E.I.H.C., XLII, 82.

Some further attention was paid to the poor of the city in 1770, and a new workhouse was built on the northeast corner of the Common to replace the one which had stood for many years on Broad Street. The new one furnished more ample and comfortable quarters to the unfortunate persons who were forced to resort thither.

The *Essex Gazette*, which had been doing yeoman service in promoting the patriot cause since its establishment, was completely burned out in the great fire. The printing materials were only saved by being thrown indiscriminately into the street in the utmost confusion. It is no wonder that in the next issue of the *Gazette* Mr. Hall acknowledged the friendly assistance of his brother printers of Boston in getting out the paper. It was in the *Gazette*, still published in Salem, that was printed the account of the battle of Lexington and Concord which was circulated in England,[1] but the following month Hall moved his plant to Stoughton Hall in Cambridge and the paper appeared as *The New England Chronicle*: or *The Essex Gazette*.[2] Hall had ingratiated himself with the members of the Provincial Congress when it organized in Salem, and the removal was 'at the desire of many respectable gentlemen' of the Congress.[3] As Salem had ceased to be the capital of the province, he no doubt saw an advantage in being nearer the center of affairs.

Hall had never been without competition. That picturesque individual, Ezekiel Russell, had started in 1771 a tory sheet called *The Censor*, which was short-

[1] See page 367.

[2] Tapley: *Salem Imprints*, 29.

[3] *Salem Gazette*, May 12, 1775.

lived, and later *The Salem Gazette and Newbury and Marblehead Advertiser*, which was also short-lived, or evolved into *The American Gazette, or the Constitutional Journal*, which appeared in June, 1776, and disappeared soon after. Russell moved his plant to Danvers and later moved to Boston, where he died in 1796.[1] Russell published in Salem and Danvers a good many other things, such as broadsides, pamphlets, and almanacs, which were brilliant, but not adapted to make him popular at that particular time.

In the summer of 1776, Isaiah Thomas, the publisher of the *Massachusetts Spy*, moved down to Salem and tried to start a paper, but for lack of encouragement failed, and he finally removed to Worcester; so Salem lost the distinction of the work of this distinguished printer.

For five years Salem was without a paper, and then Mrs. Mary Crouch arrived with bag, baggage, and printing press from Charleston, South Carolina, and started the *Salem Gazette and General Advertiser*, which lasted a few months and died in October, 1781. The very next week, Samuel Hall again stepped into the gap and issued the *Salem Gazette*, which this time lasted four years. It was done to death by the tax on advertisements passed by the legislature in 1785, which appears to us as foolish as much of our present tax legislation will appear to the next generation when it comes to its senses.[2]

In 1772, there was an unfortunate occurrence which broke a record that Salem had held for nearly three generations. Since the time of the witchcraft delusion, no one had been convicted of a felony, but in this year Bryan Sheehan was convicted of rape and sentenced to be hanged on Salem Neck. The Reverend Mr. Diman of the East Church preached from Romans, vi, 23, a long and rather dull sermon, afterwards printed. Then the fellow was taken to the Neck and, after exhorting the spectators to avoid bad company, which he said had ruined him, he prayed earnestly and suggested that his body be turned over to Doctor Kast, who did not accept the offer.[1] Over twelve thousand people are said to have witnessed the execution, as it was then the rather horrible custom to hold such affairs in public. It is not that one has any special weakness for the feelings of the scoundrel, but it seems unwise to satisfy the morbid curiosity of people.

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[1] Tapley: *Salem Imprints*, 36–50.

[2] Tapley: *Salem Imprints*, 56–63; Streeter: *Salem Newspapers*, E. I. Proc., 1, 157.

In 1773, a definite attempt was made to improve the condition of the Main Street, and a committee reported to the town that it could be done at one shilling a square yard. This would require about one hundred and ninety pounds from West's to Britton's Corner (Washington to North Street). Certain citizens subscribed eighty pounds, and the town appropriated one hundred pounds more, so the work proceeded. They took into consideration that the manure saved on the pavement would pay the interest on the money, but did not seem to consider that it would also make it more cleanly and healthful. The new pavement was of cobblestones brought from the beach on Baker's Island, and, as there were no sidewalks, it reached from shop to shop.[2]

Salem had not grown much during those years, and perhaps its male population had been depleted, for in 1777 there were but 1193 males over sixteen years old, of whom 24 were French and 52 colored. The province tax in 1772 on Salem was about two hundred and seventy pounds, or about one-fortieth of the total. As the Revolution proceeded, the Provincial Congress thought of a new plan of taxation, and Salem was asked to supply three hundred and eighty of the thirteen thousand coats needed for the army and one hundred and ninety each of shirts, breeches, shoes, and stockings.

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[1] *Essex Gazette*, Jan. 16, 1772.

[2] Streeter: *Salem Before the Revolution*, E.I.H.C., xxxii, 59.

Although there were many uncertainties, the Salem trade continued active during the early years of this decade; but, be it said to their credit, the Salem merchants took no advantage of their Boston competitors when that port was closed by the Boston Port Bill, and in many instances helped their Boston friends to transact business.[1] Much of the food and supplies sent by the southern colonies to relieve the poor of Boston was landed in Salem,[2] and sent to Boston either by land or by the little coastwise boats that do not seem to have been stopped if they came from within the province. The only ships that came into Boston were transports, men-of-war, and dispatch boats, but they came steadily week after week till a very considerable body of troops was assembled. All this was just preparing the stage for the war, but no one would believe it was actually upon them till the stern realities of Lexington tore aside the veil.

[1] John Rowe: *Diary*, 278, 287.

[2] *Ibid.*, 278.

CHAPTER XXVII

LESLIE'S RETREAT

> The Americans have hoisted their standard of liberty at Salem.
>
> *Gentleman's Magazine*, London, April, 1775.

FEW people in Salem really thought war was coming, but they had seen British troops quartered amongst them, and they resented it. Force could only be resisted by force, and steps in that direction began in October, 1774. The Honorable William Browne was colonel of the First Essex Regiment, and he would not resign as a *mandamus* councillor, which clearly showed his affiliations. In retaliation the officers of his regiment resigned in a body[1] and, as an effective force, it ceased to exist for the time being. This condition continued till February 13, 1775, when, at a full meeting with forty-nine officers present, Timothy Pickering was elected colonel and the regiment was clearly reorganized as a provincial force,[2] though Pickering was commissioned under the royal government.[3]

Colonel Pickering was a man of considerable military experience. In January, 1766, he had been commissioned a lieutenant in the First Essex Regiment, and had written some articles condemning the laxity of old training days and urging better training and more discipline in the militia.[4] Just before he was chosen colonel, he wrote 'An Easy Plan of Discipline for a Militia,' which was published a few months later.[5] He evidently made a study of military science and was an intelligent, well-equipped military officer, though he did not intend to become a professional soldier.

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[1] *Salem Gazette*, Oct. 28, 1774. [2] *Ibid.*, Feb. 24, 1775.

[3] O. Pickering: *Life of Timothy Pickering*, I, 60.

[4] *Essex Gazette*, Jan. 31, Feb. 21, 1769.

[5] O. Pickering: *Life of Timothy Pickering*, I, 85, 86.

During the winter of 1774–75, there was much activity among the patriots in assembling military supplies. Among others so employed was Colonel David Mason of Salem. He was born in Boston in 1726 and had seen service in several of the Indian and French wars. He had gone to Gloucester to live in 1765 on account of the smallpox epidemic in Boston, and a few years later moved to Salem. His wife was Hannah Symmes of Bradford. As an agent of the Massachusetts Military Committee he had gone, in the autumn of 1774, to the Simsbury Iron Works in Connecticut to contract for cannon balls, and later he tried to get out of Boston some brass cannon which belonged to his former artillery company, and was probably successful.[1] Later, he purchased some iron cannon from Captain Derby and employed Captain Foster, whose shop was in North Salem, to make the carriages while his wife and daughters sewed up the flannel cartridges. By the last of February, many of these gun carriages were completed. One of the workmen was supposed to have been a traitor and gone to Boston on Saturday afternoon, February 25, to inform General Gage what was going on;[2] but it seems more likely that word was sent by some of the more important Salem tories. The fact that, when Colonel Leslie approached through the South Field, a white flag was seen displayed on the roof of Colonel Sargent's house on Essex Street seems to indicate that he knew of Leslie's coming in advance, and bears out this theory. Perhaps the workman was a spy for Sargent.

On Sunday, February 26, General Gage dispatched

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[1] Samuel Sweet, Esq., in *Boston Daily Advertiser*, about Dec. 10, 1847.

[2] Susan Smith: *Sketch of Colonel David Mason*, E.I.H.C., XLVIII, 205, 206.

Colonel Leslie with the Sixty-Fourth Regiment of foot from Castle William in Boston Harbor on a transport to Marblehead.[1] It is supposed that the regiment at the Castle was sent so that the people in Boston would get no inkling of the expedition. The transport arrived at Marblehead about noon, but appeared to be manned as usual, for the soldiers were kept below decks. The number of men sent is variously estimated, but apparently the whole regiment except the camp guard went from the Castle, and was from two hundred and fifty up, according to the estimate used.

Colonel Leslie waited till the people had gathered for afternoon service; he then ordered his men to load and fix bayonets, landed them with great dispatch at Homan's Cove on the Neck, and at once marched off toward Salem.[2] Some people had fortunately observed the landing, and at once a man appeared at the church doors with a drum, shouting, 'To arms! To arms!' Major John Pedrick, who lived at the corner of Washington and Pickett Streets, rushed to his house and mounted his horse to carry the alarm to Salem. He came up with the British troops on the plain marching toward Salem. Colonel Leslie, whom he knew, and one of whose officers was a great admirer of one of Pedrick's attractive daughters, directed the troops to file right and left and let the major pass. He thanked the colonel, and trotted quietly by and down the steep hill to Gardner's Mills. As soon as he was out of sight, he rode at breakneck speed to Salem, and to the church of Doctor Thomas Barnard, Jr., on North Street, to give the alarm, and then rode on to North Bridge to get the draw up.[3]

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[1] See Appendix D, pp. 464–65, for sources and references.

[2] O. Pickering: *Life of Timothy Pickering*, I, 60–68.

[3] Account of Mrs. Story, daughter of Major Pedrick, E.I.H.C., XVII, 190–92.

Colonel Mason, with a group of young men, rushed from his house in North Street to the shop where his guns were. David Boyce and other truckmen hurried along with their teams. There was no snow on the ground and some of the guns were dragged to an adjacent oak woodlot near Buffum Street, and covered with leaves and the carriages hidden.[1] Others were sent toward Orne's Point and concealed there.[2]

Benjamin Daland, who kept a stable on Summer Street, rode off to Danvers to spread the alarm through the county. This must have been done with the utmost speed, for it seems to be a fact that before dark of that short February afternoon over a hundred men from far-away Amesbury were on the march for Salem.[3]

Meanwhile, in Salem all was excitement. The bells were ringing, drums beating, and people pouring forth from the meeting-houses into the streets. Apparently, an attempt was made to remove the planks on the bridge at the South Mills, where the railroad crossing now is, south of the station, but the work was hurriedly done and soon repaired by the advance guard,[4] which crossed and marched around to the foot of Norman Street through Front and Fish Streets down to Long Wharf.[5] The main body marched right up into Town House Square and halted a few minutes. It is said that some of the officers talked with Samuel Porter, 'a young tory lawyer,' and inquired for Mr. John Sargent, the half-brother of Colonel William Browne, who soon joined them. The troops presently resumed their march and proceeded through Lynde and North Streets to the long causeway that led to the drawbridge.

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[1] E.I.H.C., XLVIII, 206.

[2] E.I. Proc., I, 108.

[3] Gallison's Letter, E.I.H.C., I, 2.

[4] E.I.H.C., XLVIII, 206.

[5] E.I.H.C., XXXVIII, 329.

Colonel Mason, who had come down to the center of the town, rode hastily back to the bridge ahead of the troops and crossed to the north side, so the draw could not yet have been raised. The only statement [1] that mentions Colonel Pickering and the minute men places them on the north side of the river, but it seems unlikely that there had been time to organize the force, and only at the last minute did they know which way the troops were going. Other accounts indicate that Pickering at least was on the south side of the bridge,[2] and still another that he was mustering the minute men in the square after the troops left.[3]

As soon as the troops came in sight of the bridge, Colonel Mason and the men with him raised the north leaf of the draw. Although it was low tide, this left the deep channel, which it was impossible to ford, in front of the column. Some of the people on the north side climbed upon the draw, and others collected on a small wharf which jutted out easterly just beyond it. Another similar wharf extended easterly from the south end of the bridge, on which stood two warehouses belonging to William West and Eben Bickford. On the mud flats near-by, three gondolas lay stranded. One belonged to Captain Felt, another to Major Sprague, who owned the distillery near-by at the corner of Federal Street.

Meanwhile, most of the men who had faced the troops in the square had tramped along beside them to the bridge. The Reverend Mr. Barnard and a friend, Jonathan Gavett, joined the procession as it passed through North Street. Among those who trudged along was Captain John Felt, a cool, determined man of fifty and a prominent patriot; Jonathan Felt, popularly known as 'Hunter' Felt, who later commanded a privateer; Captain James Barr, of English birth but a sturdy citizen of Salem,[1] who owned a wharf adjoining the bridge; Major Joseph Sprague, who owned a distillery near the bridge; and old Captain Richard Derby. Many others had hurried directly to the bridge, while a group of women stood on the high bank, where the Baptist Church now is, to view the scene.

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[1] Ezra Stiles: *Diary*, 1, 522–24.

[2] William Gavett's Account, E.I. Proc., 1, 128.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1, 112, note.

As the column with the attendant citizens came upon the bridge, Colonel Sargent saw the lifted draw and exclaimed to the man beside him, 'It's all over with them now.'

'What is all over with them?' asked his companion.

'Why, they were going after the guns,' replied Sargent.

The column proceeded as far as the draw, halted, and faced easterly along the west side of the bridge. When Colonel Leslie reached the open draw, he was angry beyond words. He stamped and swore, and ordered the draw to be lowered at once. The people appear to have been in rather good humor at this point. The joke was clearly on the colonel, and one bystander asked him why he wanted to cross and what he had come down for anyway. The colonel said he had orders to cross that bridge, and swore he would do it if it cost his life and the lives of his men. How to do it was another matter, and the colonel walked out on West's Wharf to investigate. There he saw the people on the opposite wharf, among whom stood Captain Robert Foster, recently a captain in the Essex Regiment, in whose shop the work on the guns had been done. Captain Felt had followed Leslie out on the wharf and heard him say to an officer, 'You must face about this company and fire upon those people.'

This roused the bitter resentment of Captain Felt, who

[1] E.I.H.C., xxvii, 123.

became the real hero of the occasion, and he called out so all could hear:

'Fire! You'd better be damned than fire! You have no right to fire without further orders! If you fire, you'll all be dead men.'

Felt was right. There was no proof that the men on the opposite wharf had raised the draw. Open rebellion had not yet appeared. Leslie had no right to fire unless in self-defense, and probably realized it and cooled off a little. Felt said afterwards that if Leslie had given the order to fire, he intended to grab him and jump into the river. Mr. William Northey, a respectable Quaker, who stood near-by, realized Captain Felt's fiery temper and tried to dissuade him by saying:

'Don't you know the danger you are in, surrounded by armed troops and an officer with a drawn sword in his hand?'

Perhaps right at that point the cooler judgment of Colonel Leslie prevented the first battle of the Revolution's being fought at the North Bridge; for the people only became more excited.

'Soldiers! Red jackets! Lobster-coats! Cowards! Damnation to your government!' yelled a man perched on the draw.

'Fire and be damned!' called out Captain Joshua Ward.

The soldiers, who had got heated with their fast march from Marblehead, were shivering in the bitterly cold wind, and a man named Teague, who was sitting on the upraised draw, called out:

'I should think you were all fiddlers, you shake so!'

This sort of thing could not have continued long without retaliation, but just at this moment a diversion occurred. Captain Felt noticed the stranded gondolas and suggested to some of the men that they be scuttled.

'Hunter' Felt, Frank Benson, and Joseph Whicher ran down at once onto the flats with what tools they could pick up, and started to knock holes in the bottoms. Colonel Leslie presently noticed what was going on, and ordered some of the soldiers to stop it. In spite of prods from the British bayonets, the men succeeded in finishing their work; then Benson and Whicher turned to the soldiers, and dramatically opening their shirts defied the latter to stab them. One of them did prick Whicher enough to draw blood — the first blood shed in the Revolution.

The last hope of crossing the river being destroyed, Leslie held a conference with his officers, and then announced to Captain Felt that he was determined to cross the bridge if he stayed till autumn, and that he would turn the warehouses on West's Wharf into barracks.

'Nobody would care for that,' remarked Felt with a bit of a sneer.

'By God, I will not be defeated,' replied the colonel, decidedly nettled.

'You must acknowledge that you have been already baffled,' replied Felt.

The people were getting angry and excited, and were pressing against the line of soldiers, who shoved them back with their bayonets. There was more talk of firing on the men on the north side when the Reverend Mr. Barnard stepped forward and said:

'I desire you do not fire on those innocent people.'

'Who are you?' demanded Leslie abruptly.

'I am Thomas Barnard, a minister of the Gospel, and my mission is peace,' replied the worthy minister, 'and I pray to Heaven there may be no conflict.'

'I'm on the king's highway and I won't be stopped,' retorted Leslie.

'It is not the king's highway,' asserted old Captain Barr.

'It is a road built by the owners of the lots on the other side, and no king, country, or town has anything to do with it.'

'There may be two words to that,' replied the colonel.

'Egad! I think it will be the best way for you to conclude that the king has nothing to do with it,' retorted Captain Barr.

It was now nearly five o'clock, and no doubt the ardor of both sides was chilled by the intense cold of that winter afternoon. The sun was setting, and Leslie, recognizing that the dispute had been ineffective and that something must be done soon, approached Captain Felt and asked him if he had any authority to order the draw lowered.

'There is no authority in the case,' said Captain Felt, 'but there might be some influence.'

Now resulted a conference of Felt, Barnard, Pickering, and other important men on the south side, while Colonel Mason, mounted on a ladder, addressed Leslie over the top of the draw to the effect that messengers had ridden through the county and soon several thousand minute men would be upon the scene. Leslie urged his orders to cross the bridge, but pledged his word that he would march only fifty yards beyond the bridge and would return without molesting anything. Felt was reluctant; Doctor Barnard urged the people to lower the draw, but they replied: 'We don't know you in this business. When Felt orders it, it will be time enough.' Finally, Captain Felt agreed, down came the leaf of the draw, the troops marched across about as far as Mason Street, wheeled, and started back for Marblehead. Just where they turned, Sarah Tarrant leaned out of her window and called out:

'Go home and tell your master he sent you on a fool's errand and has broken the peace of our Sabbath. What! Do you think we were born in the woods, to be frightened by owls?'

One of the soldiers pointed a musket at her.

'Fire if you have the courage,' she yelled. 'I doubt it.'

So a woman had the last word, and Leslie departed for Marblehead, with his fifers playing, 'The World's Turned Upside Down.'

Benjamin Daland, who had just returned from Danvers, whence he had started off expresses to raise the countryside, rode up to Leslie as he marched up North Street and said to him, 'Well, Colonel, you have done right to march off, for in a short time we shall have more men here than your soldiers have lice in their heads.'

The Danvers militia under Samuel Eppes, captain, had arrived by way of Boston Street during the parley at the bridge, and were drawn up in double line across the end of Federal Street west of North Street. As Leslie marched by, they fell in behind and, marching to the British music, escorted the British to the boundary of the town in South Salem. A good many Beverly men had got across to Salem, and it has been estimated that many thousand men were hastening to Salem from all over Essex County.

Colonel Pickering had had scant time to organize the Salem militia before Leslie arrived. He and most of the men had doubtless been at meeting, and, before any formation could be made, Leslie was in town. Moreover, it was only thirteen days since Pickering had become colonel, and the militia was in poor shape for action. There is only one mention of Pickering at the bridge, and if the militia ever did form, it is reasonable to assume that they formed on the Common, marched up to School Street, and waited to learn the outcome of the altercation at the bridge. Pickering may then have proceeded to the bridge, and when Leslie left town the men simply went home. There were probably no armed men on the bridge, though those on the north side were near their homes and knew where they could get their guns if they needed them.

And so the episode of the North Bridge passed into history. It was General Gage's first attempt to prevent the arming of the province which was definitely going on. It was likewise the first attempt of the people to obstruct and prevent the military power of Great Britain from attaining its object. It was also the first attempt to rouse the minute men of a considerable portion of the country to oppose the British soldiers. That it did not result in a bloody conflict and the wiping out of Leslie's regiment was due to Leslie's forbearance and good sense in realizing that the situation was fraught with danger. Had he fired on the people at the bridge, he would have laid a long and bloody trail to Marblehead. There were at least as many minute men in Salem as he had soldiers. One Danvers company was already in the town, and others were on the way and near at hand. Beverly men were coming steadily, and the companies in Marblehead could easily have cut off his retreat.

The event did not pass unnoticed in England, and was mentioned in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1775. Under date of Monday, April 17, just two days before Lexington, are the words referring to Leslie's retreat: 'It is reported that the Americans have hoisted their standard of liberty at *Salem*.' If Great Britain was willing to admit before the nineteenth of April that the Revolution had begun in Salem, there seems no good reason why Americans should deny it, and perhaps our patriotic friends in Concord and Lexington might bear this in mind.

CHAPTER XXVIII

SALEM'S PART IN THE REVOLUTION ON LAND

AFTER the British forces had received their first setback in Salem, General Gage hesitated before he started again. He had had better luck in Salem than he probably would have had if a tory colonel had not held command of the Salem militia till thirteen days before the raid. If Pickering had had his force well in hand, he might have stopped Leslie at the South Mills and prevented him from reaching the town till the militia of Danvers, Beverly, Ipswich, and the more distant towns arrived, and the Marblehead men could have made things very uncomfortable in the rear.

One thing the Americans should have learned and probably did, namely, that in case of another raid, to be effective the minute men must start instantly. Troops move rapidly, and an organized force acts promptly and with decision.

As early as December, 1774, Pickering and the other Salem militia captains seem to have formed a plan for the militia 'to fulfill in any particular the resolves of the Provincial Congress.'[1] The election of Pickering as colonel in February was the result, and immediately after the North Bridge affair a muster was notified, which was held on March 14. This was to overcome the attitude of listlessness and inactivity, and an inspection of all military accouterments seems to have been established. Andrew Oliver, who had by this time renounced his office of *mandamus* councillor, begged off on account of gout, but he had to submit his accouterments for examination.[2]

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[1] Letter of Pickering, *Life of Pickering*, II, 6.

[2] Letters, *Life of Pickering*, II, 3–5.

A few days later the Honorable Richard Derby gave the town two field guns,[1] and the town voted to raise and pay two companies of minute men whose loyalty could be relied upon.[2] This was in accordance with the general movement which had spread over the province since the Worcester convention.[3] It shows that an attempt was being made to whip the Salem regiment back into shape before the zero hour arrived.

In order to understand what happened on April 19, one must realize that what we know as Danvers Square was then largely non-existent; that the bulk of the people in Danvers, as Danvers then was, were in the Middle Precinct, now Peabody, and near the First Church in Danvers Highlands, and that all travel north from Boston went through South Danvers, now Peabody, and across through where Danvers Square now is to Wenham, Ipswich, and the north. Consequently, Danvers was nearer to Boston and Cambridge than was Salem, which was distinctly off the through line.

Some time after eight o'clock, a messenger rode through South Danvers with the word of the battle at Lexington. The John Endecott of that day was in the Danvers company, and his daughter, to her dying day, remembered her father, clad in his regimentals, mounting his horse at the old Orchard Farm on Waters River and riding off. This suggests that many of the Danvers Company may have been mounted, and may account for their early arrival. She wondered why her mother and grandmother cried so after he left, but it was clearer when she saw the gloom cast over the neighborhood by the funeral of the eight Danvers men who were killed at Menotomy (Arling-

[1] *Essex Gazette*, March 23, 1775.

[2] *Town Records*, March 23, 1775.

[3] Allen French: *First Year of the American Revolution*, 39, 40.

ton) during the retreat.[1] The companies were assembled with great speed, and Captain Eppes of South Danvers rode at once to Salem for orders from the colonel. He found Colonel Pickering at the Registry of Deeds, and received verbal orders to march at once.[2] The Danvers men got away before ten o'clock, struck the British at Menotomy (Arlington), and seven of them were killed there. Danvers lost more men than any town except Lexington.[3]

Pickering went at once to Webb's Tavern and had a short consultation with the selectmen and other leading gentlemen, who expressed grave doubts of their reaching the line of march of the British, but deemed it expedient as evidence of co-operation to assemble and march at once. It is about sixteen miles to Winter Hill *via* Medford, which was the only available route. They paused a few moments in South Danvers, where Mrs. Edward Southwick, a Quakeress, in spite of pacific principles, gave out a large basket of provisions to Elias Haskett Derby, who was a soldier in the ranks,[4] as was also William Gray, another great merchant.[5] It was seven miles to Lynn, where a short pause was made for drink; then they covered the nine miles to Medford. Probably the nearest point where Pickering could have struck the line of march was twenty miles from Salem, and it is doubtful whether he could have got his three hundred men into the firing-line in condition to fight in less than seven or eight hours. They arrived just in time to see the British entering Charlestown Neck. A messenger summoned Pickering to General Heath, who told him it was too late to attack, so he took the Salem companies back to Medford, where they mounted a guard at the bridge, and the next day they returned to Salem.[1] There seems no real ground for criticizing the Salem men for failure to arrive earlier, but they seem to have been selected for condemnation at the time and afterwards. The Danvers men, who got away an hour or so earlier and were at least two or three miles nearer, only just reached Arlington in time. The Provincial Congress in August completely vindicated the Salem companies by a resolution.

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[1] MS. note by Miss Susan Gray, died 1900, daughter of Elizabeth Endicott (Mrs. James Gray), now (1936) owned by Miss Grace A. Woodbury, her grand-niece and kindly loaned to the author.

[2] *Life of Pickering*, I, 69.

[3] Tapley: *Chronicles of Danvers*, 71.

[4] J. W. Hanson: *History of Danvers*, 105.

[5] Letter of John C. Gray, *Life of Pickering*, I, 544.

Colonel Pickering joined a conference of officers at Cambridge next day, and expressed the opinion that 'pacification on honorable terms was still possible,'[2] and that in any event they had better try to capture the Castle instead of besieging Boston. He then returned home.

A number of citizens of Salem had posted off to the battle on horseback, and of these, Benjamin Peirce was killed. How much part the others took is not apparent.

But Salem also had a far more important part to do in connection with the fight at Lexington and Concord than mere fighting. When the Provincial Congress met at Concord on Saturday, April 22, three days after the Lexington fight, a committee of eight, headed by Elbridge Gerry of Marblehead, was appointed 'to take depositions *in perpetuam* from which a full account of the transactions of the troops under General Gage in their route to and from Concord, etc., on Wednesday last may be collected to be sent to England by the first ship from Salem.'

This was no inconsiderable task, but, as we know from the controversies over who started first in the Great War, the human mind attaches vast importance to the question of who starts a fight. On Tuesday afternoon, a letter came from Salem urging the utmost haste,[1] and was forwarded to the committee, then at work in Lexington. It is not stated who wrote this letter, but the very next day it was

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[1] *Life of Pickering*, I, 71, 72.

[2] Letter to Wingate, *Life of Pickering*, I, 81.

> *Ordered*, That the copies of the order of the Hon. Richard Derby, Esq. for fitting out his vessel for a Packet be taken and authenticated by the President *pro tempore* and Ordered that the Hon. Richard Derby, Esq.'s orders to the treasury be also authenticated by the President *pro tempore*.[2]

On Thursday, April 27, the committee of public safety [3] resolved

> that Captain Derby be directed and he hereby is directed to make for Dublin or any good port in Ireland and from thence to cross to Scotland or England and hasten to London. This direction is so that he may escape all cruisers that may be in the chops of the channel to stop the communicating of the Provincial Intelligence to the agent.

John Derby, who sailed in the ship, was a brother of Richard, and the papers he carried are in the archives of the Provincial Congress in full,[4] in the shape of a letter, accompanying a declaration supported by affidavits, to Benjamin Franklin, the agent of the colony in London, as evidently they did not know he was then on the water *en route* to America. After the usual compliments and a request to supply Captain Derby on the credit of the colony, the letter continues:

> But we most ardently wish that the several papers herewith enclosed may be immediately printed and dispersed through every town in England and especially communicated to the Lord Mayor, aldermen and councilmen of the

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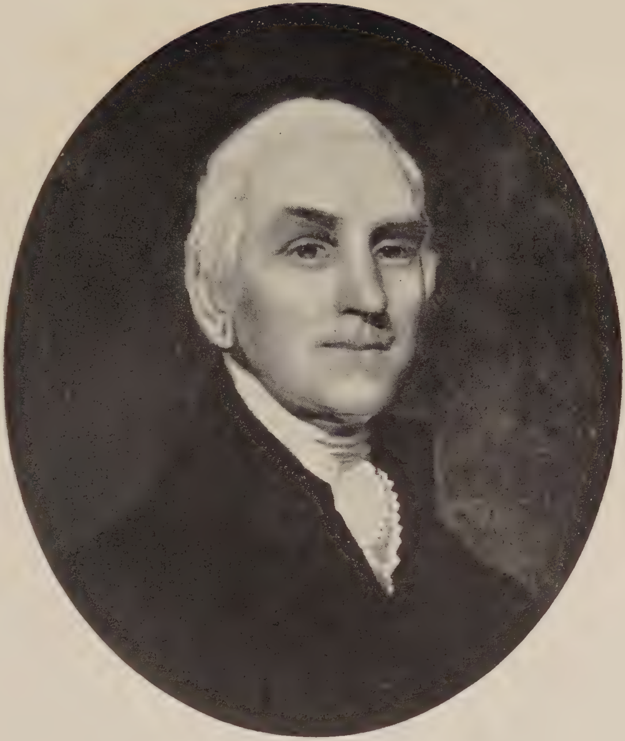
[1] Force: *American Archives*, 4th Series, II, 767.
[2] *Ibid.*, 769.
[3] *Ibid.*, 747.
[4] *Ibid.*, 488.

> city of London that they may take such order thereon as they think proper and we are confident that your fidelity will make such improvement of them as shall convince all who are not determined to be in everlasting blindness, that it is the united efforts of both Englands that must save either. But that whatever price our brethren in the one may be pleased to put on their constitutional liberties, we are authorized to assure you that the inhabitants of the other with the greatest unanimity are inflexibly resolved to sell theirs only at the price of their lives.
>
> Signed by order of the Provincial Congress.
>
> Jos. Warren, President *pro tem.*

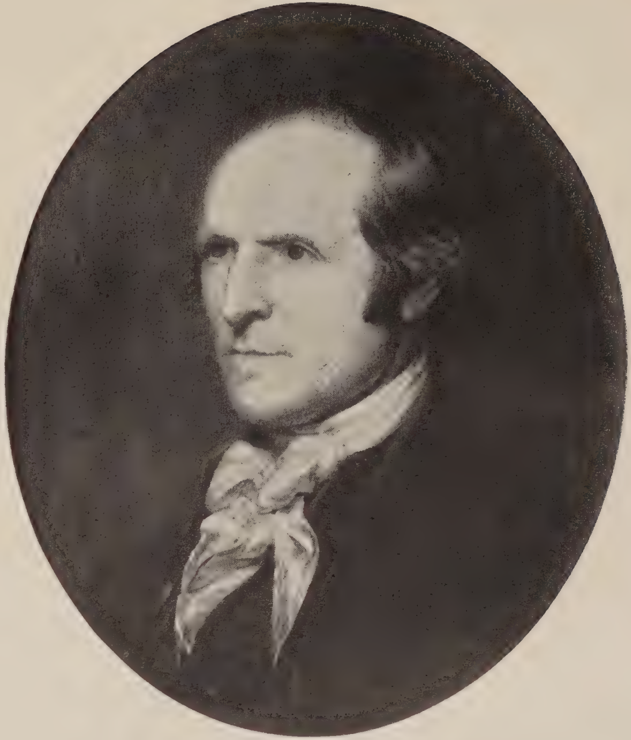
There was enclosed an appeal to the inhabitants of Great Britain, signed by Warren, and twenty affidavits authenticated by notarial certificates in the most legal fashion, all to the effect that the troops fired first and without provocation. Two of these affidavits were from British soldiers, evidently captives: the rest, in some cases signed by fifteen or twenty men, were all by Americans.

When the letters reached Salem on the morning of April 27, the schooner *Quero* of sixty tons, in ballast, with a daring crew, was all ready to leave. John Derby went on board with the letters and Captain William Carleton, the sailing-master, got up sail. Next morning she had vanished and the British sloop-of-war *Lively*, which had been hanging around off Marblehead, had not seen her go. Four days before, General Gage had sent his dispatches by the ship *Sukey*, Captain William Brown, but she was a fully loaded ship of two hundred tons and not so fast.

Haste was essential, however, and Derby took the quickest route to London. The instruction to land in Ireland was probably merely a blind, and Derby was probably put ashore from an open boat on the Isle of Wight, while the *Quero* dropped back to Falmouth before entering England. At any rate, Derby's expense account



CAPTAIN JOHN DERBY, 1741–1781



GENERAL TIMOTHY PICKERING, 1745–1829

shows expenses from the Isle of Wight to London, and Hutchinson's diary says he was supposed to have come that way, though the King's officers could not discover when, or where his ship was.

Anyhow, he got to London Sunday evening, May 28, with his official dispatches, which he at once turned over to Arthur Lee, acting provincial agent, and also copies of the *Essex Gazette* of April 21 and April 25, with accounts of the Lexington affair, probably written by Timothy Pickering. Hutchinson somewhat bitterly remarks that 'the conduct of the Boston Leaders is much the same as it was after the inhabitants were killed the 5th of March, 1770. They hurry away a vessel that their partial account may make the first impression.' Lee pressed the advantage by broadcasting his news far and wide. Those who remember the impression made by the first German account of the Jutland naval fight in the Great War can easily see how great the advantage was. The ministry, still in utter ignorance, tried to discount the news. Lord Dartmouth announced May 30, 1775:[1]

> A report having been spread and an account printed and published of a skirmish between some of the people of the province of Massachusetts Bay and a detachment of His Majesty's troops, it is proper to inform the public that no advices have yet been received in the American Department of any such event.
>
> There is reason to believe that there are despatches on board the *Sukey*, Capt. Brown, which though she sailed four days before the vessel that brought the printed accounts, is not yet arrived.

Arthur Lee tartly replied:

> London, May 30. As a doubt of the authenticity of the account from Salem touching an engagement between the

[1] E.I.H.C., xxxvi, 6.

> King's Troops and the Provincials of Massachusetts Bay may arise from a paragraph in the *Gazette* of this evening, I desire to inform all those who wish to see the original affidavits . . . that they are deposited at the Mansion House with the Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor for their inspection.

When the *Sukey* arrived, her news was pretty stale, and, as the newspapers couldn't see much difference, the American point of view prevailed. The main dispute seemed to be whether the British troops retreated or were routed. The London press sarcastically closed their discussion by remarking, 'Whether they marched like mutes at a funeral or fled like the relations and friends of the present ministry after Culloden is left entirely to the conjecture of the reader.'

Meanwhile, it had finally occurred to the ministry to get hold of Derby and get further details, as he was reported to be *en route* to Spain for ammunition, but now Derby had disappeared, and by the time they learned that the *Quero* was at Falmouth, she also had sailed. In fact, her entry at Falmouth was probably delayed till Derby was about ready to leave. He simply took a seat in the post-chaise, somewhere outside of London, for Portsmouth, and changed into another for Falmouth. On July 19, the *Quero* reached Salem and entered as from Falmouth in ballast, William Carleton, master, no passengers. All quite true, but her important passenger had nevertheless reported to General Washington[1] at Cambridge the day before, with secret dispatches, and again did not report how or where he got ashore; he probably landed north of Cape Ann, to avoid the English cruisers. The trip cost £143–9–2½ and was duly paid for on

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[1] See Washington's Letter to Congress, *Works*, edited by Jared Sparks, 1834, III, 35.

August 1, 1775. Derby charged £5–0–8 for his expenses in England, but also includes this entry:

> To my time in executing the voyage from hence to London and back . . . . Nothing[1]

Salem does not seem to have had a large hand in the siege of Boston, though part of one company marched to Cambridge May 24.[2] Lieutenant Benjamin West was killed at Bunker Hill, and a hundred or more Salem men were serving in the regiment of Colonel Mansfield of Lynn. The answer to this probably lies in the fact that the seacoast towns were constantly in fear of attacks by water,[3] and felt they had to keep their men at home. A few days before Bunker Hill, the people had beaten off a small tender which had come down to convoy a lumber schooner loaded for Boston, with a loss of two or three killed on each side.[4] This schooner belonged to that same Captain Ichabod Jones who precipitated the fight at Machias.

The Provincial Congress on June 27 saw this danger to the seacoast, and ordered Essex County to raise ten companies of fifty men each to defend it. Of these, Salem had to supply a goodly share.

This was decidedly necessary. Under date of July 6, Admiral Graves in Boston had received orders to proceed vigorously against any towns which raised or armed any men or offered violence to the king's officers.[5] A little later, he sent out Captain Henry Mowat with orders to 'burn, destroy and lay waste' Salem and Marblehead, among other towns, though the expedition only succeeded in destroying Falmouth in Casco Bay on October 16.

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[1] Full account in Robert S. Rantoul: *Voyage of the Quero*, E.I.H.C., xxxvi, 1–30.

[2] James Jeffrey: *Journal*, E.I.H.C., L, 112.

[3] N. Appleton to O. Wendell, E.I.H.C., xiii, 175.

[4] John White: *Journal*, E.I.H.C., xlix, 92.

[5] *Germaine Papers*, W. L. Clements Library.

In August, Captain Lindsey, in the sloop-of-war *Falcon* chased two Salem schooners into Cape Ann Harbor and caught one. In trying to get the other, he lost the first one and some thirty-five men, captured. He bombarded the town and the meeting-house, and some eight houses were struck. He tried unsuccessfully to burn the town.[1]

A few days before the Falmouth expedition, the British sloop-of-war *Nautilus* chased a Beverly privateer into the harbor and grounded on the flats. Either intentionally or in firing at the schooner, she almost hit the Beverly meeting-house, and did send a shot through Thomas Stephens's chaise-house.[2] Men of Salem and Beverly rushed to the attack with muskets and even with three four-pounder cannon from the Salem side.[3] The *Nautilus* finally escaped with 'about twenty shot through the Hammacoes and Hull.' For four hours the Salem men fired on her continuously.

The result of these episodes, and of the news of the destruction of Falmouth, was that Salem voted, October 23,[4] to block the harbor channel with hulks and put the forts in order. The Provincial Congress helped by requiring the neighboring towns to lend a substantial quantity of ammunition.

The hulk used was that of the brig *Neptune*, which seems to have belonged to John Browne. There is a bill still in existence for £85–0–0, plus interest of £33–3–6, against the town for this hulk in October, 1775, which was finally paid with interest to date in April, 1782, as were many of the revolutionary bills.[1] Other defense bills are those to S. Blyth for painting two guns and gun carriages in July, 1775; Captain B. Ward to John Touzel for twenty-two beds and straw for soldiers at Fort William, £3–17–0; to Richard Manning for buying and carting a gun from Ipswich and 'fixin' it, £14–8–9.

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[1] W. Wetmore: *Diary*, E.I.H.C., XLIII, 117; Babson: *Gloucester*, 393–96.

[2] E. M. Stone: *History of Beverly*, 64.

[3] W. Wetmore: *Diary*, E.I.H.C., XLVIII, 118; Allen French: *First Year of the American Revolution*, 540.

[4] *Town Records*, Oct. 23, 1775.

The next spring, work progressed faster, and Thomas Mason, in March and April, 1776, worked on the barracks to the amount of £39–18–1. In July, Jonathan Peele paid on behalf of the town £6 for 'frate of six cannon, carriages and apparatus for them from Boston to Salem.' Other bills of similar import are scattered along through the spring, showing that fortification went on apace. The committee of the Provincial Congress appointed to report on seacoast defenses said, June 19, 1776:

> There are two forts erected on the Point of Land in Salem Harbour No. 1 and No. 2 or old Fort. No 1 contains 10 ambozeurs, has 2 twelve pounders with three small pieces, fit for use which with the Cannon in the No. 2 or old Fort we judge sufficient as these forts are now overlooked by another Fort which is now erecting on an eminence not far distant — This fort we must own does credit to the gent^{m} of the Town of Salem and with the addition of some heavy pieces and ordinance stores would enable them to make no dispicable Figure in the common Defence.[2]

Fort Number One was a battery erected on Juniper Point; Number Two was the old fort on Winter Island which had been variously called Fort Ann, Fort William, and later Fort Pickering, while the new fort was christened Fort Lee.[3] It may well be that the strength of these defenses saved Salem from some of the marauding expeditions later carried out by the British.

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[1] Salem Town Bills, E.I. MSS.

[2] *Mass. Archives*, cxxxvii, 93–95.

[3] Streeter: *Story of Winter Island*, E.I.H.C., xxxiii; Felt: *Forts on Salem Neck*, E.I.H.C., v, 258, 259.

As the siege of Boston progressed, more and more men were absorbed into the army, and Salem, always short of men because of the number at sea, felt the strain. There seems to be no mention of a Salem regiment in Cambridge, but when, in January, 1776, the General Court called for four thousand men, it was difficult for the town to raise its quota, for 'great numbers of the inhabitants being at sea, many impressed on board the British ships, a considerable number in the American armed vessels and privateers, one hundred employed as a seacoast guard and perhaps double that number already in the army — of the residue two or three only presented themselves.'[1] Recognizing that the lines in Cambridge must be manned, a group of the gentlemen, including Pickering, signed up as volunteers without pay, to serve till April 1. Washington thanked them for the offer, but did not call them for active service, and in March the British evacuated Boston. In May, Colonel Pickering was appointed by the provincial government to command a force to be raised to defend the seacoast about Salem.

By July 1, Washington at New York was daily expecting the arrival of Lord Howe, and the General Court passed an act to raise one-fourth of the fighting men of the province to go to his assistance; but long before they could arrive Washington was defeated on Long Island, driven out of New York, and chased across New Jersey. During the bitter days of defeat, Colonel Pickering called a meeting of citizens in the First Church and laid before them the desperate condition of affairs. Seventy men had followed the drum to the meeting, volunteering to get a man or go themselves, but seventeen more were needed.

[1] Pickering to Washington: *Life of Pickering*, I, 92.

He urged every man to come forward and do his duty, and finally came down from the pulpit and marched up and down the aisles urging men to enlist. Pew doors swung open, citizens, sea captains, sailors, and tradesmen fell in behind, and he marched out into the street with ninety-two men, more than the full quota of the town, behind him.[1] The regiment filled up from other towns, and Pickering, commissioned colonel, marched from Salem December 24, 1776. He reached Danbury, Connecticut, on January 2 with his men. Ten days later, they were ordered to the Hudson, and, after a month's strenuous service around Fort Independence, he joined Washington near Bound Brook February 21. Their term of service ended, and they reached Salem April 1.

A week later, Washington offered Pickering the position of adjutant-general. He accepted the post, passed on from that to the office of quartermaster-general, and visited Salem only once or twice during the remainder of the war. He was throughout one of Washington's ablest and most efficient officers.[2]

The year 1777 wore its weary length along. Though the militia was kept pretty well tuned up with alarms of enemy fleets,[3] the war had drifted away from New England, and, with little or no excitement to keep them up, the people began to realize its hardships. Commerce had in large measure ceased, owing to the danger of capture by British cruisers. Privateering was the chief industry, and a very precarious means of existence. The farmers charged high prices for provisions, and imported supplies did not come in. Wood was the only fuel for heating, and the big open fireplaces required much wood for little warmth. The fuel sloops from the eastward had ceased to come in, and fuel was scarce and dear. The depreciated currency made things very expensive, and often the farmers refused to accept it at all. The law forbade any depreciation of the paper money, yet every huckster and marketman openly declared it of no value. Broadcloth was £6–3 per yard and tea $7 and $8 per pound.[1] Sugar was £15 to £20 per hundredweight. Shoes were 24 shillings a pair. The privateers brought in some prizes with supplies, but these often went to the army.[2] Bread seems to have been scarcer than anything else. This is easily understandable when one realizes how much New England depended on the southern colonies for food. In 1774, 6852 barrels of flour and 9800 bushels of corn were brought to Salem from Annapolis, Maryland, alone. Before April 1, when this trade was cut off, 1800 barrels of flour had been brought in. The war cut all this off.[3]

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[1] W. Wetmore: *Diary*, E.I.H.C., XLIII, 120.

[2] *Life of Pickering*, I, 94–136; II, 21–37.

[3] *Major Sprague's Letters*, E.I.H.C., XXIX, 164.

The news of Bennington in August and of Burgoyne's surrender in October brought great rejoicing, and the victories seem to have been celebrated by bedeviling the tories and smashing their windows.[4] Salem had sent one-sixth of its militia under Zadok Buffington, captain, to Saratoga.[5] The news from Washington's army was not so encouraging with Howe in Philadelphia and the Continental Army out in the cold at Valley Forge. The winter of 1777–78 set in excessively cold, with snow early in December, and it was still snowing late in March. The inland towns were better off than the seacoast, for they had grain, potatoes, milk, and meat, the fundamental food supplies. With the household industries of knitting, spinning, weaving, and shoemaking, the inhabitants could be clothed and shod as long as they had sheep and cattle. Fuel was not a problem on the farm. There was a shortage of everything in the trading towns, which had formerly bought with ready cash, but now had none to buy with.

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[1] Pynchon: *Diary*, 33.

[2] Williams to Pickering, E.I.H.C., XLII, 316–19.

[3] *Annapolis Custom House Records*, E.I.H.C., XLV, 276–82.

[4] Pynchon: *Diary*, 42, 45.

[5] Williams to Pickering, E.I.H.C., XLII, 315.

More attention had apparently been given to arms and ammunition than to clothing for the army. In March, 1778, George Williams of Salem, who appears to have been serving in the supply department in Boston, wrote to his brother-in-law, General Pickering, that the militia were better supplied than ever before with munitions which the state had imported. Five thousand arms with one thousand spare gun locks and flints had been distributed to the towns. Sufficient powder had also been given out to supply the militia and the coastwise forts. Two hundred and sixty barrels of gunpowder had been imported, but evidently that was not the main supply. Samuel Phillips, ordinarily thought of as a patron of education, was running a powder mill in Andover and had already turned out five thousand pounds, 'better than any emported.' A state mill was running on the same basis as Mr. Phillips's, and a mill at Springfield was going also, so a daily supply was assured.[1] The colonists had evidently taken to heart the shortage of the first year of the war.

All this time Salem was doing its bit in the way of soldiers for the Continental Army. Men were not enlisted by companies, but one by one for replacements. In the report of total enlistments for the regular army, men are counted for each enlistment; so, as they enlisted at first for a year, a man might be counted several times. All told, 231,796 men enlisted in the Continental Army during the Revolution. Massachusetts supplied nearly 68,000 enlistments, or over a quarter of the total; Connecticut, 31,000; Virginia and Pennsylvania, over 25,000 apiece; New York, Maryland, and New Hampshire, about 12,000 or 13,000 apiece, and none of the others much over 10,000. New England furnished 118,000 enlistments, or over one-half the Continental line, which never at one time exceeded 47,000, which it reached in 1776. These figures are exclusive of the militia called out for short periods, such as helping to defeat Burgoyne and repelling the attacks on the Connecticut and Rhode Island coasts.[1]

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[1] Williams to Pickering, March 22, 1778, E.I.H.C., XLIII, 7, 8.

The next military excitement in Salem was the Rhode Island expedition. The British had captured Newport in December, 1776, and, as it was largely a loyalist town, had held it with little opposition till August, 1778. As it was within easy reach of the British base at New York by water, it could easily be relieved, and it was not important to the Americans. With the French fleet on the coast to blockade the harbor, it seemed easy to capture. Count d'Estaing anchored off the harbor, and General Sullivan with two brigades of the Continental Army came to lead the expedition, which was to be made up largely of militia. Salem was called on for fifty-two men. The service was for only three weeks,[2] and seems to have appealed to all the Salem sea captains and other leading citizens. Jonathan Peele, Jonathan Gardner, Jr., Jonathan Haraden, Simon Forrester, Jonathan Felt, and Samuel Williams were in the ranks, as well as Pierces, Cabots, Higginsons, Hathornes, Ornes, Dalands, Ropeses, Putnams, Dodges, and Needhams. Samuel Flagg was captain and Miles Greenwood, lieutenant. There were eighty-one in all,[3] and their turning out encouraged others. Marblehead sent one hundred boatmen, Newburyport sixty, Boston eighty, and more came from the smaller towns and New Hampshire.[1] They started off on August 4 at seven o'clock in the morning on horseback and in carriages from Flynt's Tavern.[2] The expedition began well. It effected a landing on the island a few days later and bombarded the British lines. A British fleet appeared, however, and the Frenchmen went out to engage them, but struck a storm and retired to Boston for repairs, leaving the Americans in the lurch. Fortunately they got safely back to the mainland. 'Never was greater Spirit seen in America for the expedision,' wrote Samuel Williams, 'and greater disappointment when Mr. Frenchman Left us on a Island in the Lurch, all of us mad.... We went up ye hill and down again and then got home to Salem Safe. Farewell following French man.'[3]

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[1] Knox's Report in 1791, *History of Congress*, May 11, 1790; *American State Papers*, fol. ed., XII, 14; L. Sabine: *American Loyalists*, I, 42–44, note.

[2] Pynchon: *Diary*, 55.

[3] Complete list in E.I.H.C., I, 112.

The war drifted far away from New England as the winter of 1778–79 came on, but the hardships continued. Food was scarce and dear. Flour was at £24 per hundredweight, if it could be got at all. Corn was $17 to $25 per bushel, and even brown sugar cost £40 to £78 per hundred weight. Beef, mutton, and pork were 4 to 6 shillings a pound.[4] The evils of inflated currency as well as scarcity pressed hard upon them. The winter was long and cold. Of trade little could be expected; the privateers had bad as well as good luck. Some were captured, some vanished without a trace, some were lost and their men got back impoverished and discouraged. In spite of it all, they still struggled on, and tried to back up Washington and his army.

Again, in the year 1779, the war touched New England with the British raids at New Haven and along the Connecticut shore, but Salem does not seem to have been concerned in these. She was deeply concerned in the Penobscot expedition of August, but from a naval rather than a military point of view, so that will be taken up later. The excitement of war had passed away. The port seemed pretty safe, however dangerous it might be just outside. Nothing remained but to endure for two more years the poverty and deprivations which a state of war always entails.

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[1] Williams to Pickering, Aug. 20, 1778, E.I.H.C., XLII, 16.

[2] Pynchon: *Diary*, 55.

[3] Williams to Pickering, E.I.H.C., XLIII, 200, 201.

[4] Williams to Pickering, Feb. 28, 1779, E.I.H.C., XLIII, 203.

The famous Black Friday of May 19, 1780, struck Salem as it did all New England. The way it impressed people cannot be better described than in the words of William Pynchon:[1]

> 19. Friday. Rain; S. W. wind. A dark morning; about ten the darkness increased, and at eleven and twelve o'clock it was so great that people used candles to get dinner by and to read; the cocks began to crow, as in the night; people in the streets grew melancholy, and fear seized on all except sailors; they went hallooing and frolicking through the streets, and were reproved in vain; they cried out to the ladies as they passed, 'Now you may take off your rolls and high caps and be d——d.' Dr. Whitaker's people met at the meeting-house, and he preached from Amos VI, 8–9: 'I will darken the earth in the clear day,' etc. He urged that it was owing to the immediate act of God for people's extortion and other sins, and enumerated them. At four P.M., it grew somewhat lighter; in the evening, although the moon was up and full, it was, until 12 o'clock, darker than ever was seen by any.

This inauspicious day immediately preceded the call for the town meeting which was to adopt the Articles of Confederation between the states, and that in turn was followed by the arrival of news of the British capture of

[1] Pynchon: *Diary*, 63.

Charleston, South Carolina. The summers of 1780 and 1781 brought little news save of disasters in the Carolinas and Washington's difficulties around New York. Rumors followed rumors of the success or failure of the French fleets, and feelings rose and fell in proportion. The old Continental currency had dropped to practically nothing, one hundred and fifty dollars for one of silver.[1] It must have been a most trying period.

Finally, on October 23 came a vague rumor that Washington had suddenly gone south. Lord Cornwallis was in trouble at Yorktown, Virginia; one hundred and thirty heavy cannon were playing on his camp. Then came the news of his surrender — nine thousand men! frigates!! one hundred transports!!! etc., etc. And on Friday, October 26, in spite of clouds and rain, this is the record:[2]

> Cannon, small arms, mortars, bells, and all kind of arms, sounds, reports, clamours, noises, and rumours through the town make the diversions and employments of this day; the surrender was on the 20th instant.

[1] Pynchon: *Diary*, 95.

[2] *Ibid.*, 109.

CHAPTER XXIX

THOSE WHO STOOD BY THE KING

In any great division of opinion there are always two sides to the question, and, forgetting for the moment the impulsive, vindictive, arrogant, and ignorant, there are always kindly, calm, wise men who simply cannot see alike. Some line up on one side, some on the other. Those on the winning side become patriots, heroes, and fathers of their country; those who lose, if they are lucky enough to escape, usually die in poverty and in exile, hated by their countrymen and viewed with compassionate contempt by the side they tried to help. Not only the American, but the French, Russian, and all other great revolutions present the same sad spectacle.

Out of several thousand persons[1] who are listed as taking some active part against the United Colonies, fewer than forty came from Salem. The fact that Salem was almost purely English, with a slight tinge of French Huguenot, may account for this; for, considering the numbers in the country, there seem to be an abnormally large number of Scotch and Irish names among the tories. This may be due to the fact that both those peoples are famous for personal loyalty rather than loyalty to an idea, and the king meant more to them than he did to the Puritans.

The first episode which created thorough-going hostility in Salem was General Gage's attempt in the latter part of August, 1774, to prevent the town meeting called to choose delegates to the Ipswich convention. When Justice Peter Frye issued warrants for the arrest of the seven members of the committee of public safety at the express order of General Gage, there was such indignation that he dared not make an attempt to arrest the members, who refused to give bonds for their appearance at the Superior Court and returned those which had been given.[1]

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[1] Sabin's *Loyalists* probably has over five thousand names in the body of the book and appendix.

There was an unusually large proportion of sailors in Salem, and sailors are proverbially an unruly lot when on shore. Undoubtedly they formed the nucleus of the mob which enforced the will of the majority by extra-legal methods. Threats of tarring and feathering, breaking of windows, and placing live coals against front doors were some of the methods used. No doubt the 'discipline of snow balling' mentioned later[2] had already come in. Suspected persons were examined by the committees and guarded in their houses.[3] In any event, things were decidedly unpleasant, and the tories felt it was wisest to absent themselves unless they were prepared to recant. The address to Hutchinson was not made public, but many were known to have signed it; they printed apologies in the public press, and the committee of public safety undertook to place its *imprimatur* on those which were sufficiently humble.[4]

Under these conditions the tories were extremely unhappy. Some stayed and changed their views; some stayed and remained as quietly neutral as possible, and the rest departed. Of those who went, the earlier sailed for England or Halifax in vessels from Salem, Boston, or Marblehead as quietly as was practicable, and the rest sought refuge with friends in Boston under the protection of the British troops. None attempted to raise troops or to make resistance in Salem. The mass of the Salem people were too heavily on the patriot side for any such attempt to stand a chance of success.

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[1] Frye's Letter to *Essex Gazette*, Sept. 13, 1774.

[2] Pynchon: *Diary*, 25.

[3] James Jeffrey: *Journal*, E.I.H.C., L, 111.

[4] *Essex Gazette*, June 1, 1775.

Just after the fight at Concord there was a decided movement out of town.[1] There seemed to be a strong feeling that Salem might be bombarded by the British fleet or that Gage might send an expedition down to seize the town, and a good many persons moved their families and goods to Danvers, Boxford, Wenham, Andover, Haverhill, and other inland towns for safety. Both whigs and tories of the timid sort joined this exodus. Mrs. Samuel Curwen rushed off to Dunstable, but was back in a fortnight, and 'is determined nothing shall start her again till she hears one gun at least fired against the town.'[2] On May 9, Captain Richard Derby wrote to one of his captains in the West Indies, 'We have no Tories save what is now shut up in Boston or gone off.'[3] At about the same time a lot of patriots came out of Boston and settled down in Salem.

One movement which impresses one as amusing in view of the size of the conflict was the migration to Nantucket. That island was largely inhabited by Friends, and there seems to have been a feeling that they would remain neutral and that it was the safest and easiest place to go to. Three days after the fight at Lexington, Mrs. Holyoke packed for Nantucket, and sailed a day or two later with her children. By May 6, Salem society was pretty well established there. Mr. and Mrs. Goodale, Mrs. Vans, Mrs. Pynchon and family, Mr. and Mrs. Orne, Mrs. Higginson, Mr. Wetmore, and Mr. and Mrs. Williams were all there, as well as many friends from Boston. They had tea parties, hobnobbed with the Quakers, attended

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[1] James Jeffrey: *Journal*, E.I.H.C., L, 111.

[2] *Holyoke Diaries*, 91.

[3] E.I.H.C., XXXVI, 11.

Friends' meetings and 'high frolics' at a sheep shearing, and generally appeared to be enjoying themselves.

Mrs. Holyoke said the people were very kind, but she did not think much of the island. All sand, no rock, some eight thousand inhabitants, and corn the chief product, was her summary. Though there was one cornfield six miles long, there was no food on the island, and she did not know but they would all starve. She hoped to return soon, and she did the latter part of July. Most of the others did too; so the idea of a neutral island seems to have ended.[1]

The real troubles of the loyalists came in the hard, bitter days of 1777 and 1778, when the provincial government was well established and was fighting for its life with its back to the wall. Things went badly with any active tories that remained. In September, 1778, came the Banishment Act to prevent the return of certain persons, including four from Salem, and in April, 1779, the Conspiracy Act and the Confiscation Act, which named only Colonel William Browne.

As the pressure on the tories grew, they were arrested and thrown into prison, bound over to keep the peace, and sometimes obliged to live in the inland towns. The club mentioned earlier, which consisted chiefly of tories, or at least of very moderate men, gradually petered out, and finally only Doctor Putnam and Doctor Holyoke attended a meeting at Mr. Pynchon's house.[2] In a letter to Colonel Browne, Pynchon wrote:

> You may easily imagine what a figure our solitary club now makes. We are at considerable pains to keep the small remains of it together, weekly notifying the time and place of meeting. When met (the waggs say) we sit looking at one another speechless, as the cats in cloudy weather; and if a

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[1] *Holyoke Diaries*, 86–91.

[2] Pynchon: *Diary*, 111.

> word of news, the times, mobs, recantations, troops, or congresses, etc., etc., pops out through inadvertence or impatience, two or three forefingers are instantly pointed at the doors and windows of the room, so that a stranger, from the silence, forefingers and long faces would suppose a funeral at each door. But the Clubb regardless of waggs, etc., goes on. However, it would really give us much pleasure and no disagreable surprise if without previous notice you would bolt in upon us one of these gloomy evenings.[1]

The loyalists may be divided into several groups. The most interesting group consisted of very able men who had served their province and city faithfully and well. They refused in most cases to change their opinions, and for that reason the patriots could not allow them to remain. They were leaders of the type that every country needs. Foremost among these was the Honorable William Browne, one of the *mandamus* councillors who refused to recant, a signer of the address to Governor Gage and probably of that to Governor Hutchinson. He belonged to one of the oldest and most public-spirited families in the town, and was also a grandson of Governor Burnet. Both his mother and the mother of his wife were great-great-granddaughters of Governor John Winthrop. Until the Revolution he had always enjoyed real popularity and the full confidence of the people. He went to England *via* Halifax in April, 1776, and never returned to stay. His wife complained of ill treatment after his departure and joined him in England in 1778. He was denounced in the Conspiracy Act of 1779 and his property confiscated. He was forbidden to return on pain of death by the Banishment Act of September, 1778. After the peace, he was appointed governor of Bermuda and gained the esteem and confidence of the people. He finally died in England. His son, who left with him, later became a distinguished

[1] Pynchon: *Diary*, 85.

officer of the British army. The Browne family was a real loss to the town. Its landed property comprised over four thousand acres in Massachusetts and ninety-five hundred acres in Connecticut, as well as houses and lands and movable property in Salem. It was all confiscated, and was the only property so seized in Salem.[1]

Judge Samuel Curwen was another of the distinguished exiles who went to England. He went first to Philadelphia by the schooner *Lively* from Beverly April 23, but found he could not stay there either. He returned to Salem in 1784. He kept a most interesting journal of his wanderings about England for nine long years, and few men resented any aspersions on America more than he did.[2] He was nettled by the references to America after the defeat of Long Island. 'It is my earnest wish,' he says, 'the dispised Americans may convince these conceited islanders that without regular standing armies, our continent can furnish brave soldiers and judicious expert commanders, by some knock down irrefragable argument.'[3] His excellent picture of the life of the loyalists in England shows them to have been interesting and intelligent men.

The second person from Salem mentioned in the Banishment Act was Colonel Benjamin Pickman. He was an able merchant and a conscientious public servant, but he had signed the address to Gage and probably that to Hutchinson. While his two brothers recanted on the former, he did not, and sailed from Boston in March, 1775, on the brig *Betsy* for England, leaving his wife Mary, daughter of Doctor Toppan, to take care of the family estates, which she did loyally till his return in 1785.[4] She may not have fully sided with her husband's opinions, which made it easier for her to stay, and for him to return without losing his property.

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[1] E.I.H.C., XLIII, 290; VI, 94.

[2] Curwen: *Journal*, 75.

[3] *Journal*, 90.

[4] *Pickman Diaries*.

Mr. Pickman's son-in-law, Colonel Peter Frye, was another conspicuous loyalist who went to England. He had held many public offices, and as his daughter married as her second husband Sir John Knight, admiral of the British navy, he never came back to America, though he lived till 1820.

Captain Thomas Poynton, who settled in Salem about 1754 and married Hannah Bray, was one of those who signed the addresses to Hutchinson and Gage. He refused to recant, and had his windows broken by a mob. He went to England and died there in 1781, and never saw his wife again. She lived till 1811 and died in Salem.

The young tory lawyer who had pointed out to Leslie the way to the cannon in Salem did not get away as easily as some others. Samuel Porter was seized as a prisoner soon after the fight at Lexington, but on May 24 set off for Montreal with James Jeffrey, who was returning there. At Pitford, Vermont, he got discouraged, turned off to Albany, and finally[1] escaped to New York and eventually to England. He was included in the Banishment Act of 1778 and never returned to Salem. He died in London in 1798.

Another man included in the Banishment Act was John Sargent, half-brother of the Honorable William Browne. He was the son of Colonel Epes Sargent and had a brother, Paul Dudley Sargent, who was a firm patriot. John Sargent fled to Boston just after Leslie's retreat, and then retired to Nova Scotia; he lived and died in Barrington. Long after the war, John was visiting another brother Daniel and went to church with him. Paul Dudley Sargent, who had moved to Maine, happened in and sat down in the family pew, but when he saw John promptly left. Daniel afterwards expostulated with him, but did not get far. 'I'll never sit down knowingly with a tory in God's house, nor in any other,' remarked Dudley. Thus these enmities lasted.

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[1] James Jeffrey: *Journal*, E.I.H.C., L, 112.

There were a group of shopkeepers and others not so conspicuous in public life who were forced to leave the town and never returned. They were usually signers of either the Hutchinson or the Gage address, and so made themselves marks for persecution. George Deblois was perhaps the chief of this group. He got away to Halifax with his family in April, 1775. He lost his real estate and merchandise in Salem, worth about £438, and his interest in two vessels. He probably died in Halifax, but was in England in 1777.[1] Andrew Dalglish, another shopkeeper who addressed Hutchinson, went to England and died in Glasgow. Nathaniel Dabney, the apothecary, went to England and joined the group in London. He tried to stay in Salem, but refused to perform any patriotic duties, and his bell-metal mortar was sold for a fine for refusing to serve on a jury to condemn prizes. He probably reached London in 1777, and never returned. Doctor John Prince was the last of this group. He was a physician and son-in-law of Captain Richard Derby, the only one of the Derby connection whose patriotism could be questioned. He retired to Halifax, but later returned to this country. William Cabot of Salem was an addresser of Gage, and seems to have fled to England, for he turned up there in 1776 and was still there in 1780.[2]

All of the above men were sincere in their convictions, never bore arms against their country, and simply retired to avoid insult and persecution. They regretted the Revolution rather than opposed it.

[1] Curwen: *Journal*, 114.

[2] *Ibid.*, 45, 228.

An account of the loyalists in England would not be complete without a mention of the New England Coffee House, where the refugees often congregated. In the winter of 1775–76 a New England Club was organized, to dine weekly at the Adelphi in the Strand. It consisted of about twenty Americans,[1] and was facetiously known as the Brompton Row Tory Club.[2] Later it seems to have met with the various members. Many of the refugees lived or had lodgings in Brompton Row, Kensington.

There were but three or four Salem men who became real enemies of their country. James Grant, one of the addressers of Gage, went to Halifax, but later returned to Boston, in 1776, on promise of a commission in the royal forces, though his wife continued to live till her death in Salem. Francis Cox was a lieutenant in Colonel Mansfield's regiment, but deserted to the enemy about the time of the Bunker Hill battle. He also created great hostility by trying to induce others to desert. Peter Pickman Frye was a soldier in the Continental Army, but deserted in May, 1777, with intent to join the British. He was brought out to be shot on Boston Common, but his grandmother, Madam Pickman, interceded with Washington on the ground of his being a lunatic which was entirely true. He was one all the rest of his days.[3] Peter Oliver, a son of the lieutenant-governor, was a doctor in Salem before the war and fled to Boston and Nova Scotia. He joined the British army as a surgeon at New York till he went to England in 1779, and died there in 1795.

Of the loyalists who stayed in Salem, the most distinguished was the Honorable Benjamin Lynde. He had signed the address to Gage, but that was about as far as his active loyalty extended. He had distinct tory affiliations, for one daughter married the Honorable Andrew Oliver and the other the Reverend William Walter, rector of Trinity Church, Boston, and thereby became the ancestor of Charles Francis Adams. Judge Lynde retired from the chief justiceship of Massachusetts before the Revolution started,[1] and was seventy-six when it broke out. The Lyndes deserved well of the town, and probably this and his advanced age saved him from petty insults. He retired to Ipswich Hamlet (Hamilton) in May, 1775, and stayed there over a year, but returned to Salem in the autumn of 1776. He remained all winter, but moved to Danvers in the spring, and seems to have stayed there till his death in 1781, just before the news of Cornwallis's surrender arrived. His diary of the events of the war is perfectly colorless. There is nothing to indicate his feelings except that he seems chiefly interested in the successes of the Americans.[2]

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[1] Curwen: *Journal*, 45.
[2] *Ibid.*, 106.
[3] Pynchon: *Diary*, 38.

The Honorable Andrew Oliver, one of the Salem judges, is generally rated as a loyalist,[3] but does not appear to have signed either the address to Hutchinson or that to Gage, and he declined a commission as *mandamus* councillor. He seems to have been the only Oliver who stayed in Massachusetts during the war. Perhaps his success in avoiding trouble may be judged from the opening sentence of a letter to Colonel Pickering: 'I have ever made it my study to avoid giving offence to my country or my fellow townsmen.' [4] He stated in public that he disagreed with his countrymen only in the methods pursued to redress grievances.[5]

A man who took a more aggressive attitude was William Pynchon, the lawyer. He signed the barristers' address to Hutchinson and the later address to Gage, but he publicly retracted the former to the satisfaction of the committee of safety,[1] along with the younger Pickmans, Doctors Holyoke, Dabney, and Putnam, Francis Cabot, and others. The windows of his house on Summer Street were smashed by a mob,[2] so perhaps he was a bit of a tory after all. He left the windows simply boarded up for a long time as a witness to lawlessness. Until his death in 1789 he continued to live in Salem.

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[1] *Lynde Diaries*, 201. [2] *Ibid.*, 206–08.

[3] Sabine: *Loyalists*, II, 137.

[4] O. Pickering: *Life of Timothy Pickering*, II, 3.

[5] *Salem Gazette*, March 31, 1775.

Like Pynchon, Doctor Holyoke signed the addresses to Gage and to Hutchinson and retracted the latter. Doctor Holyoke was a most useful citizen and could ill be spared, and continued in the town throughout the war. Other loyalists of the passive sort were the Reverend William McGilchrist, of Saint Peter's Church, whose church was stoned by the mob, but who continued to pray for the king till he died in 1780; Timothy Orne, Pynchon's son-in-law, who barely escaped being tarred and feathered in 1775, probably for signing the address to Gage; Nathan Goodale, who retired to Nantucket for a time, but was even elected a representative in 1781, and Henry Gardner, who went to St. Eustatia in the West Indies, but returned in 1781.[3]

One of the interesting facts seems to be that most of the tories left their wives in Salem and the latter kept on living in their old homes. Old friends of both parties still lived their lives together, regardless of party affiliations.[4] To be sure, those we know most about were largely tinged with toryism or at least neutral, but they still all associated together. Even the mob — and a mob of hoodlums there was, even in the Salem of that day — did not commit violence against women. It probably was not altogether pleasant at times, but the ladies still went shopping, still visited around from time to time, helped out in sickness and were helped in their turn, and still enjoyed their little wedding festivities.

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[1] *Essex Gazette*, June 1, 1775.

[2] Curwen: *Journal*, 487.

[3] Pynchon: *Diary*, 95.

[4] *Holyoke Diaries*, 91–107.

When peace finally came, many of the emigrants returned and took up their old ways. There were grave doubts in the minds of many of the refugees of the wisdom of returning to Salem. There were conflicting reports of the attitude the common people might take toward them. Bitterness was expressed toward Doctor Whitaker, who never took any halfway position; for he exerted himself in stirring up opposition to their return, 'on the wharves' as well as at his desk.[1] Judge Pickman came back after ten long years and again had the respect of the community. Colonel Browne and his wife returned for a visit after he had been appointed governor of Bermuda, and dined with his old friends.[2] Judge Curwen returned, even if he had peremptorily ordered that he should not be buried near his wife because when he awoke on resurrection morning he would be 'not a little deranged to find her starting up at his side.'[3] She had an hysterical fit on hearing of his return. Presumably few of the reunions were quite so hectic, and we can see with pleasure families united, and delight on all sides that peace had come again and hatred and enmity could be forgotten.

[1] Curwen: *Journal*, 383.

[2] *Holyoke Diaries*, 112.

[3] Pynchon: *Diary*, 199 n.

CHAPTER XXX

THE RISE OF THE PRIVATEERS OF SALEM

1775–1778

From a perfectly dense ignorance of the subject, a good many well-meaning but squeamish people have taken occasion to throw much discredit on the privately armed ships of our Revolution and to denounce them as nothing but pirates. The Revolution was made successful with little organization by the tremendous initiative and patriotism of thousands of individual men. Each little seaport town realized that America must keep its place on the sea. Merchants, shipbuilders, shipmasters, and sailors all worked together to keep open, so far as they could, the lines of trade, and to bring into the ports of the colonies those things which the army and people must have if their morale was to be kept up to the end of the long struggle.

It is true they did not have the ships to meet the large British war-vessels, but they did have the skill and the courage to break through a very energetic blockade and range the high seas pretty much at will. They forced the British navy to convoy all the important merchant fleets, and even hung on the skirts of the convoys, cutting out the strays and the laggards. They cruised in Saint George's Channel and in the English Channel, and even prevented traders from Scandinavia from reaching England across the North Sea. They harried the coasts of Great Britain, the West India colonies, and Nova Scotia, and cut out vessels actually in port. Goods from France, as well as important passengers and dispatches, traveled on the privateers, and probably the percentage of safe arrivals was as large as if they had gone on regular warships. In all of these activities Salem privateers took a prominent part. Though there may have been slightly fewer different vessels than in Boston, the Salem district, comprising Salem, Beverly, and Danvers, probably kept more vessels at sea all the time than did any other town in the United Colonies. During the period from January 1, 1776, to December 31, 1782, Salem averaged over fifty vessels at sea acting offensively against the enemy.

Besides the privateers, two other organized forces were maintained during the Revolution. The Continental Congress eventually tried to build and equip a navy, but before they got to it, Washington, when he took command at Cambridge, saw the great value of stopping the supply ships going into Boston, as a means both of crippling the enemy and of developing a source of supply for his own impoverished army. His decision must have been reached early in August, 1775, but he had no authority to appoint naval officers; so, on September 2, he commissioned Nicholas Broughton as a *captain in the army*, and ordered him to Beverly to take command of the Schooner *Hannah*, duly fitted out at Continental expense.[1] The *Hannah* was a Marblehead vessel and had belonged to General John Glover.[2] As Glover was later appointed, with Stephen Moylan, muster master general of the army, to get other vessels,[3] he had, no doubt, been on the job from the beginning and found the easiest vessel to get was his own schooner. This ship from Salem Bay was the first vessel duly fitted out by the Revolutionary authorities to raise the flag of the United Colonies on the ocean, and three days later she captured the ship *Unity*, with lumber and stores for Boston.[1] This was the beginning of 'Washington's Navy' and of the United States Navy. By November 1, the schooners *Lynch*, *Franklin*, *Lee*, *Warren*, and *Harrison* were all at sea, as well as the brigantine *Washington*. Others were added later.

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[1] Force: *Am. Arch.*, 4th Ser., III, 633.

[2] T. G. Frothingham: *Services of Marblehead*, *U.S. Naval Inst. Proc.*, LII, 2418.

[3] Force: *Am. Arch.*, 4th Ser., III, 946.

It was not until November that the Naval Committee of Congress purchased the first four vessels for the Continental Navy, and their first instructions to the commander of the fleet were promulgated on January 5, 1776,[2] by which time eight vessels had been acquired. During the war fifty-seven vessels were launched or acquired.[3] There was one seventy-two-gun ship, with eleven miscellaneous ships (mostly smaller than the nineteen frigates, which were rated about thirty-two guns), nine small brigs and brigantines, and fifteen other small craft. Over two-thirds of them were purchased or launched before January 1, 1778; a great many of them through blockade or otherwise never got to sea; many were very short-lived, and by the end of 1780 only five were in service, though four more were added later. They had an impossible task. They went to sea, did all the damage they could, and were soon sacrificed. Naval supremacy is acquired in time of peace, not in time of war.

The sovereign province of Massachusetts Bay also had a navy. It began when Captain Jeremiah O'Brien presented it with the two vessels he had captured from the British at Machias, but the General Court authorized ten vessels in February, 1776, and then shortly reduced it to five. These included the *Independence*, the *Rising Empire*, the *Tyrannicide*, the *Republic*, and the *Freedom*. Later the *Massachusetts* was built. There was not a great difference between these vessels and the privateers. They were required to give bonds, and shared much of their booty. The first to get away was the *Tyrannicide*, commanded by Captain John Fiske of Salem; David Phippen and Richard Derby, Jr., both of Salem, signed her bond. She did good service, and many of her prizes were sent into Salem.[1] The whole Massachusetts navy gave a good account of itself, but its service was rather in the nature of privateering than of regular naval operations.

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[1] Force: *Am. Arch.*, 4th Ser., III, 668, 683.

[2] *Ibid.*, IV, 578.

[3] Allen: *Naval History of the Revolution*, II, 700–02.

By far the greatest injury to the enemy on the sea was done by the vast number of privateers. The Naval Committee of the General Court of Massachusetts reported on the advisability of encouraging privateering on October 9, 1776,[2] and on November 1, 1775, an act to this effect was passed, regulating the status of privateers and providing rules for their government, but a few days later the condemnation of vessels captured within thirty leagues of the American shore by any inhabitants of the colonies was legalized. There is no record of these uncommissioned privateers, which makes any estimate of the total number of privateers very uncertain, as there were doubtless a great many of them. Massachusetts was divided into three districts for the condemnation of prizes, and Timothy Pickering of Salem was the judge of the middle district, which included Boston, Salem, and Newburyport.

The first Continental law was enacted March 23, 1776; and a few days later, regulations for privateers were issued, and held the privateersmen to a pretty decent code of humanity and fair play. A proclamation of 1778 enjoined them to give special regard to the rights of ships of neutral powers, except they be carrying contraband goods. There seems to have been no settlement of the right of search, except that it appears to have been impossible to determine whether a ship was carrying contraband without search.

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[1] *Auction Sales*, E.I.H.C., XLIX, 99.

[2] Allen: *Privateers*, M.H.S.C., LXXVII, 24.

Under the acts of Congress, the Continental authorities received bonds from 1697 privateers, which are still on file.[1] Of these, 626 were given by Massachusetts privateers. With a few exceptions, all were given subsequent to August, 1780. The most complete list of Massachusetts privateers, including those bonded only to the state, gives 1554 commissions to Massachusetts vessels. As many vessels were commissioned more than once, some 958 different vessels seem to have been sent out from this state, mounting 7817 carriage guns and 792 swivels, and manned by 34,095 men. Outside of Massachusetts, 1071 privateers were commissioned by Congress, so Massachusetts supplied 31 per cent of the commissioned total. Other states besides ours commissioned privateers, but not so many, so perhaps it is a fair guess that Massachusetts supplied half the total number commissioned either by Congress or by individual colonies. Of these, Salem and Beverly, which was in the Salem custom house district, supplied 332, or over 20 per cent of the Massachusetts fleet, and over 10 per cent of that of the entire United Colonies.[2] The state navy is not included in these figures, which are probably far too small.

On November 30, 1775, the Salem committee of safety wrote the council that the privateer schooner *Dolphin* had brought in the sloop *Success*, Nova Scotia for Boston, armed with four swivels, and asked what was to be done with the prisoners;[3] the next day a petition was filed for a commission for the *Dolphin*, but the bond was not filed till December 15. On December 7, a petition and bond in behalf of the *Boston Revenge* were filed. It is a nice question, therefore, which was the first privateer commissioned. We can, however, view the dispute with comparative equanimity, for the *Boston Revenge* was commanded by Stephen Mascoll of Salem and two of the three bondsmen were Salem men, while the *Dolphin* was commanded by a Salem captain, Richard Masury, and all the bondsmen were Salem men.[1]

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[1] *Naval Records of the American Revolution*, prepared by Charles Henry Lincoln.

[2] M.H.S.C., LXIV, 45.

[3] *Pickering Papers*, XXXIII, 138.

It is a delicate matter to decide what is meant by a Salem privateer. A ship owned and fitted out in Salem under a Salem master was undoubtedly a Salem privateer. A boat owned in Salem might have a Boston or a Newburyport master. The privateers were mostly owned on shares, and shares might be held in several towns. It all depends on the definition whether a ship may be claimed by one town or another, and from this the confusion has arisen. No doubt the people at the time knew which vessels were considered primarily Salem privateers, but they made no lists, and lists made later may easily have overlooked some ships. The question of whether they intended to include Beverly and Danvers, both in the Salem district, also enters in. The earliest lists known to the writer are those of Jacob Ashton and James Jeffrey, both near contemporaries, published in the first edition of Felt's *Annals* in 1827.[2] There are other lists in Felt's second edition,[3] Hunt's *American Merchants*,[4] and Paine's *Ships and Shipmasters of Old Salem*,[5] and a manuscript list by William Leavitt in the Essex Institute. They all show some variations. The student may take his choice, and apply such historical acumen and imagination as he may have to the problem, but no list will be free from criticism from some angle. The writer proposes to tell the stories of those ships which the Salem district seems to have a primary claim to.

[1] Allen: *Privateers*, 87, 116.
[2] Felt, 1st, 570, 571.
[3] II, 267–77.
[4] II, 48.
[5] Appendix D, p. 669.

While Washington was still besieging Boston and his little fleet was trying to catch the British supply ships and transports for the garrison, Salem started her naval war with the little schooner *Dolphin*. She was probably a small coasting vessel, for she is rated at only seventeen tons, but she carried eight swivel guns and, for her, the large crew of twenty-five men. Her captain was Richard Masury, an experienced shipmaster who had been sailing little schooners up and down the coast for over twenty years, and must have known every headland from Halifax to Antigua. There was probably no island that he did not know how to dodge behind, and no tiny harbor he did not know the way into. Her bondsmen and probable owners were Bartholomew Putnam, Joseph Sprague, Joshua Ward, and Henry Rust. All men earnestly devoted to the patriot cause and ready to risk their money in its defense. Rust and Putnam were old sea captains, and Sprague and Ward were merchants. The *Dolphin* was commissioned twice more in 1776 under Captain Samuel Waters and Captain John Leach, respectively, but Joseph Sprague and Samuel Ward had become her sole owners. What she accomplished is not clear, except that she captured, on the last cruise under Captain Leach, the ship *Sally*, evidently from Portugal, the brigantine *Royal George*, and the schooner *Prosperity*, probably from England, all of whose cargoes were sold by January, 1777,[1] and netted nearly £3700 in addition to the vessels themselves.

The year 1776 produced substantial activity, but rather late in the year. The Massachusetts schooner *Tyrannicide*, later changed to a brigantine, may have absorbed considerable Salem energy. She got away in May under Captain John Fiske of Salem, and probably most of her crew of seventy-five men were recruited in Salem.

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[1] *Auction Sales*, E.I.H.C., XLIX, 99–101.

In June, the *Sturdy Beggar*, owned by Elias Hasket Derby, was ready to sail under Peter Lander. She was a schooner of eight guns and sixty men, the favorite style of this year. She made three cruises in June, August, and October, commanded respectively by Lander, Allen Hallet, and Edward Rolland. Perhaps Daniel Hathorne, who also commanded her for a later cruise, made a trip this year. Benjamin Goodhue and associates owned her on the later voyages. On her first cruise she captured, near Bermuda, the ship *Princess Royal*, which the British warship *Milford* recaptured off Cape Ann,[1] but later she got the snow *Lion* in safely.[2] The captures of the brigantine *Christian* and of the ship *Cornwall*, which sold for £3465, must also be credited to her final cruise under Captain Rolland.[3]

By July the sloop *Rover* was ready to sail under that redoubtable Irishman, Simon Forrester, who later became a great Salem merchant. She was heavily armed and carried fifty men. In the course of the year she tackled a British Guinea ship, which blew up in the course of the fight; but before the end of the year she had sent in the brigantines *Mary and James*, *Good Intent*, and *Mary Ann*, as well as the sloop *James*.[4] She also captured the brigantine *Diana* and ordered her to Salem under a prize master. He actually reached Brace's Cove on Cape Ann, but there the British man-of-war *Milford* recaptured her and sent her to Halifax.[5] The *Rover* was owned by Jacob Ashton and Joseph Sprague.

The real fleet sailed in August, though there is no record that it was as successful as the two earlier vessels. This fleet included the schooners *True American*, Daniel Hathorne, master; *General Gates*, William Carlton, master; *Harlequin*,[1] John Tucker, master; *Success*, Nathaniel Perley, master, and the *General Putnam*, Stephen Mascoll, master. These were soon joined by the *Liberty*, Ebenezer Peirce, master, and the sloop *Revenge*, Joseph White, master. These vessels carried from six to twelve guns each and averaged sixty men, or a total of about fifty-six guns and three hundred and fifty men. Not at all a bad fleet for a town of five thousand people. There were nine schooners, three sloops, and perhaps a snow at sea. A group of merchants were putting money and ships behind the fight. These included, besides those already mentioned, Jonathan Peele, Jr., John Gardner, Jr., Samuel Webb, Samuel Flagg, Joseph Lee of Beverly, Miles Greenwood, and Josiah Batchelder, Jr.

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[1] *Halifax Vice-Admiralty Records*, E.I.H.C., XLV, 238.

[2] *Auction Sales*, E.I.H.C., XLIX, 102.

[3] *Ibid.*, 105.

[4] *Auction Sales*, E.I.H.C., XLIX, 100; William Wetmore: *Almanacs*, E.I.H.C., XLIII, 118.

[5] *Vice-Admiralty Records*, E.I.H.C., XLV, 161.

There is no record that any privateers were captured this year, but Daniel Hathorne had a two hours' stiff fight with an armed packet-ship which he finally captured.[2] The *Harlequin* brought in the brigantine *Betsy* and the snow *Mercury*, which with their cargoes netted nearly £5000.[3] The *General Putnam* retook a British prize brig called the *Joseph*, and also the brigantine *Halifax*. The latter was caught north of Bermuda, but, on her way to Salem, was recaptured by the *Milford* and sent to Halifax.[4]

The British maintained a pretty close blockade of the coast with a screen of frigates more powerful than the privateers, accompanied by small, fast tenders which could pursue the privateers and their prizes into shallower and more uncertain water, and then return to the protection of the larger vessels without risking the more powerful ships. This blockade was pretty vigilant, and it is a tribute to the privateersmen that so many got out and that they got so many prizes home. The chief cruising ground of H.M.S.S. *Chatham*, *Milford*, and *Liverpool*, with their auxiliary tenders, this year, seems to have been between Cape Ann and Cape Sable.

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[1] She was a prize captured from the British, according to William Leavitt's list.

[2] Felt, 2d, II, 268.

[3] *Auction Sales*, E.I.H.C., XLIX, 101, 102.

[4] *Vice-Admiralty Records*, E.I.H.C., XLV, 177.

During 1777, Salem's fleet consisted of about thirty armed vessels, of which six had seen service in the previous year. The little schooner *Dolphin*, commanded by Captain John Leach, was still at sea, and had marvelous good fortune. On her second cruise she brought in a brig and two smaller vessels, and on her third a schooner loaded with flour and a sloop full of rum,[1] in spite of the fact that three British men-of-war were in sight in Massachusetts Bay most of the time.[2]

The sloop *Revenge* was still out under Captain Benjamin Dean and captured the ship *Royal Charlotte* of three hundred tons. She brought £1300 and her cargo nearly £5000 more. It consisted of all sorts of English goods.[3] The *Revenge* seems to have finished her career at the hands of H.M.S. *Milford* in July.[4] The sloop *Rover*, now commanded by Captain Abijah Boden, captured the ship *Duke of Leinster*, which sold for £1508,[5] and the schooner *Liberty* captured a little schooner called the *Tryan*.[6]

Whether the *Sturdy Beggar* was made over into a brigantine and put under a Marblehead captain, Philip Lefavour, is not certain, but if so it seems to have spoiled her luck. At the time, it was supposed she had foundered,[7] but it appears that either her crew or the crew of a Salem privateer previously so named were committed to Mill Prison,[1] so one of them apparently was captured. The *Harlequin*, commanded by John Tucker, was still at sea, but without known results.

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[1] *Pickering MSS.*, XVII, 29, 43.
[2] *Ibid.*, XVII, 24.
[3] *Auction Sales*, E.I.H.C., XLIX, 103–04.
[4] *Vice-Admiralty Records*, E.I.H.C., XLV, 241.
[5] *Ibid.*, 104.
[6] *Ibid.*, 102.
[7] *Pickering MSS.*, XVII, 67.

There seems to be a confusion about the *True American*. In 1777, a schooner, which changed her name on the day of registration to *Free American*, was registered on the same day by the same owners and with the same captain as the *True Blue*.[2] Captain John Buffington was named in command of both, and is also said to have succeeded Daniel Hathorne, who commanded the *True American*.[3] This sort of conflicting evidence makes it difficult to get the real story. Captain Buffington was at Bilboa in the *True American* in August,[4] and got home safely in December, 1777,[5] and a privateer, called the *True Blue* of Boston, was taken into Halifax in January, 1778.[6] There were probably five *True Blues* out during the war, two from Salem and one each from Boston, Marblehead, and Wareham; but one Salem vessel and the Boston vessel were probably the same.

Most of the ships added to the privateer fleet of Salem in this year were brigs or brigantines, presumably because they were handier in action or could run faster before the wind. The first new ship to get away was the *Oliver Cromwell*, a brigantine of sixteen guns and one hundred and thirty men commanded by Captain William Coles, and owned by John Derby and others not mentioned.[7] She was commissioned about May 1 and was cruising in the British Channel in July. The following excerpt from her log of August 3–6 will best describe her activities:

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[1] Felt, 2d, II, 268.
[2] Allen: *Privateers*, 138, 306, 307.
[3] Felt, 2d, II, 268.
[4] *Log of the Oliver Cromwell*, E.I.H.C., XLV, 250.
[5] *Pickering MSS.*, XVII, 67.
[6] *Vice-Admiralty Records*, E.I.H.C., XLV, 326.
[7] Allen: *Privateers*, 230.

> 3 Sabbath. Fair, very pleasant, & small Breezes. Early A M saw a Sail & stood for her; but soon found her to be a Man of War, of 60 or 70 Guns. Out Oars & rowed for Several Hours. Soon dropt her astern. At 6 P M lost sight of Capt. Lee.
>
> 4 Monday. Fair, pleasant weather. At 6 A M a Ship on our Weather Bow, suppos'd to be the Man of War which chased us Yesterday.
>
> 5 Tuesday. Fair, moderate and pleasant. At P M Saw a Sail. Discovered her to be a Man of War. At night lost Sight of Her.
>
> 6 Wednesday. Fair pleas^t Weather. Early A M Saw the Man of War in Chace. She continued Chace all Day. At 7 Saw a Sail a Head & at 8 came up & took her. She was a Brig from Cork in Ballast. Gave her to the Prisoners & Sent her away. Soon after saw another Sail and stood for her, came up & took her being a fine Brig from Cork for Lisbon Laden with Butter & Beef. Sent her Home by Capt. Gray. She was formerly an American Privateer called the Montgomery mounting 18 Guns, taken & carried in to Gibralter, Cap^t Fibby Comander. She had Several Laidys on Board boun(d) to Lisbon, whom we determined to take on Board us, & together with all our other Prisoners land them (as they were effectionately desireous of it) on the British Shore.[1]

She then fought two brigs to a standstill; one surrendered and then joined the fight again. After an incessant fight for 'almost 3 glasses,' night came on, and fear of the British warship made her haul off, with no one hurt but the first lieutenant, and inconsiderable damage to the vessel.

The *Cromwell* reached Bilboa August 23, where she had a go of the smallpox and found the *Civil Usage* of Newburyport and the *True American* of Salem, Captain Buffington, similarly detained. Captain Nathaniel West, who had been captured and carried to London as a midshipman on a British warship, but had escaped, joined them for the return voyage. On September 25, she put to sea, and after various encounters she was zigzagging across the Atlantic in November between 25 and 29 degrees north latitude, and got home safely.[1] She is supposed to have got seven prizes in safely, five to Beverly and two to Bilboa.

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[1] E.I.H.C., XLV, 247.

This is a good sample of the sort of work done by the large ocean-going privateers, heavily armed, with large crews, which put the fear of God into the British marine, and supplied the goods and provisions for the American people that they could no longer get through peaceful commerce.

Another new vessel of this year was the sloop *Black Snake*, owned by Simon Forrester and Joshua Ward, of which William Carlton was master and his brother-in-law, James Barr, first lieutenant. These small vessels were very useful in impeding British supply ships between Quebec and Halifax and New York. Her first cruise started in July; we know little about it except that she caught the brigantine *Sophia* from Grenada to London off the banks and ordered her to Salem. The *Sophia* was recaptured by H.M.S. *Mermaid* and sent to Halifax.[2] On a later cruise in November, she headed for Halifax. In about ten days she had rounded Cape Sable. She fussed in and out of the small harbors in Nova Scotia with perfect impunity, took a schooner bound for Liverpool and burnt her, retook a prize of the *Milford*, took a small schooner bound for Halifax and let her go, but captured another and started her home under a prize master, and finally was storm-bound in Tangiers, north of Halifax.

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[1] *Log of brig Oliver Cromwell*, E.I.H.C., XLV, 245–55.

[2] *Vice-Admiralty Records*, E.I.H.C., XLV, 316.

A couple of days later, she was at anchor in 'the Sound' near Beaver Harbor; this is what happened:

> Tuesday, December 2, 1777. This 24 hours begins with foggy weather and calm; rowed into the harbour and came to anchor at 1 P.M.; at 9 A.M. sent the boat a wooding; she discovered 2 ships beating in; the boat came on board, the captain took his glass and went on to the island and soon discovered they were men of war; they came to anchor and sent their boats to sound and see what we are; the boats thought proper not to come very nigh; they kept a continual sounding on both sides of the island; ends with fresh breeze W. S. W.
>
> Wednesday, December 3. This 24 hours begins with fresh breeze W. S. W. One of the ships came to sail and ran up to the bar within a quarter of a mile of us; brought us all open to her broadside, gave us a number of shot which obliged us to cut our cable; set the jib and wore round and made sail, bro't the other ships broadside to bear upon us, she gave us a number of shot, she cut away the knee of the bowsprit and the clew of our flying jib, we ran out and left one of the ships aground; at 6 P. M. White Islands bore N. E. by E. 2 miles distant, handed the jib, took two reefs in mainsail and one reef in foresail and set them; 4 A.M. handed mainsail, lay by under reef^{d} foresail, latter part blowing a gale W.S.W. and large sea.[1]

That apparently was excitement enough, and with one stop for wood and water, a week later the *Black Snake* was south of Cape Sable; four days afterward at 11 A.M. her crew saw Cape Ann. For a sloop of fifty tons, she had made a lot of trouble for his majesty's navy.

There were two other large vessels which carried over one hundred men out of Salem in 1777 besides the *Oliver Cromwell*. One was the brigantine *Hampden*, owned by George and Francis Cabot and commanded in July by Benjamin Warren, in October by John Bartlett; the other was the brigantine *Lion*, owned by Jonathan Peele, Jr., John Foster, and others. On her first cruise in August the *Lion* was under Ishmael Hardy, but Benjamin Warren was ready to take her out in December,[1] though she did not sail till early in the new year. Jonathan Peele, Jr., her principal owner, was the father of Jonathan and Willard Peele, who later became great East India merchants. We know little of these cruises, but they probably went the way of the big ships to the trade routes of British commerce. The *Hampden* was probably captured and carried into Dominica early in 1778.[2]

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[1] *Log of the Black Snake*, E.I.H.C., XXVII, 131.

Next came a group of sturdy vessels carrying sixty men or more and all sailing early in the year. Aside from those already mentioned, namely, the *True Blue*, *Black Snake*, *Harlequin*, and *Sturdy Beggar*, there was the *Trenton*, a sloop belonging to Samuel Page and Company, Thomas Colony, master, and the *Philo*, a brigantine of Josiah Orne's, commanded by Nathan Brown. Gamaliel Hodges was probably out with the *Mercury* of twenty-two guns, and perhaps a sloop called the *Swallow*. Finally there was a group of twelve or thirteen little brigs, schooners, and sloops with twenty-five men or less, scuttling along the coast, harassing the British transports and supply ships. No doubt there were many other little ventures, of which there is no official record, like that of the *Sculpin*, which was driven on shore to the eastward and lost. One of her crew was drowned and two captured, but the rest took to the woods and escaped.[3]

On the thirty known ships there were probably over thirteen hundred men at sea at one time or another, though not necessarily thirteen hundred different men. Besides those mentioned, a group of new masters came forward to take up this daring profession, including Joseph Putnam, Ephraim Emmerton, Silas Smith, Jonathan Woodbury, John Lander, Christopher Babbidge, Thomas Benson, Thomas Simpson, Joshua Grafton, William Gray, Nathan Nichols, Jonathan Felt, Israel Thorndike, and others. Some of the new merchants who supplied money to finance the ventures were Aaron Wait, Edward and John Norris, Nathan Goodale, Robert Shillaber, Samuel Page, Joseph White, Joshua and George Dodge, George Crowninshield, and Andrew Cabot. With over thirty ships at sea, and more building and being captured from the enemy daily, privateering was becoming a real industry. The merchants and seamen of this little town were actually taking over a considerable part of the nation's war at sea.

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[1] *Pickering MSS.*, XVII, 67.

[2] *Gentleman's Magazine*, April, 1778, p. 179.

[3] *Pickering MSS.*, XVII, 24.

In January of 1778, three vessels put to sea as privateers, or possibly letters-of-marque; of them we hear nothing afterwards. All were owned by Mark Lafitte, 'a native of France resident in Salem,' and all were vouched for by him and Stephen Higginson. These were the ship *Cornwall*, the snow *Fanny*, and the brig *Rhoda*. They were large vessels, but very lightly armed and scantily manned, as the *Cornwall*, the largest, had only twenty-five men. Lafitte appears as sole owner of the three, and seems to have owned no other Massachusetts vessel except the brigantine *Mars*, which sailed some eighteen months later. Why this sudden activity of a Frenchman, whose name appears nowhere else in Salem records, is not clear, unless this was some court activity of the French government. The captains were Salem, or at least Massachusetts, men. The *Rhoda* must have returned to Salem, for she was sold to William Gray in November.[1]

The only other privateers which got to sea in January were the sloops *Patty* and *Grampus*. This was continued activity for the *Patty*; the *Grampus* was new but small, carrying only twenty-five men. She was commanded by Ishmael Hardy and owned by Isaac White. The next vessel to get away was the brigantine *Montgomery* with sixteen guns and a hundred men. She was a large vessel, and was owned by about the same group that had sent out the *Lion* the previous summer. Soon after sailed the *Terrible Creature*, which had been out before, but not recorded, unless she was the *Oliver Cromwell* under a different name.[1] She carried sixteen six-pounders and a hundred men under Captain Robert Richardson, and was chiefly a Cabot venture. Among her prizes she captured an Irish sloop called the *Susannah*, with provisions for Lord Howe in Philadelphia, but H.M.S. *Unicorn* recaptured her and sent her to Halifax.[2]

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[1] *Auction Sales*, E.I.H.C., xlix, 109.

The little privateers of the winter months included the *Scorpion* again, but now chiefly owned by E. H. Derby. She went south toward the West Indies and was chased a few times by men-of-war, but escaped in the fog. Another was the *Lark*, a schooner with thirty men, William Munday, master, a venture in which John Dutch joined Jerathmeel Peirce. The *Pompey*, a schooner, was sent out under Silas Smith by William West and Samuel Williams, and also the schooner *Blackbird*, which had been out the year before, but was now owned by Samuel Page and Walter Price Bartlett.

The three spring months were the best time of year to start out, and seven large vessels were got away to sea. The *Franklin*, a brigantine of two hundred tons, owned by the Cabots and Bartholomew Putnam, sailed in April under Thomas Connolly with one hundred men and eighteen guns. Apparently this cruise was less successful than the autumn one when, under Captain John Leach, she captured several prizes. However, just after leaving Salem, she met a British privateer larger than she, the ship *Enterprise* of Bristol, of twenty-two guns and one hundred and forty men. A stiff fight resulted in the capture of the Britisher. She was ordered to Salem, but H.M.S. *Amphytrite* recaptured her and took her to Penobscot.[1] The *Franklin* was a very famous ship during the next four years, and was owned alternately by the Cabot group and the Derby group. In April also a vessel called the *Bredenot* sailed under Captain John Stevens. She had sixteen guns and one hundred and forty men, but was soon captured by two British transports off Bermuda. A few days later, four American privateers captured her and the two transports and took them all to America.[2] Probably in April also sailed the Derby schooner *Roebuck* for her first cruise under William Gray. She carried only twelve guns and fifty men, but in the next three years gave a good account of herself. The ship *Bunker Hill*, which later made a cruise under Nicholas Ogelbe, probably started her career under Captain Edward Rolland in May.

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[1] Howe: *Beverly Privateers, Col. Soc. Mass. Pub.*, XXIV, 344.

[2] *Vice-Admiralty Records*, E.I.H.C., XLV, 320.

What was expected to be the event of the year was the sailing of the *Black Prince* in June. She was of two hundred and twenty tons, built in Salisbury expressly for a privateer, and intended to be the largest, swiftest, and most heavily armed vessel sent out. She carried eighteen guns and one hundred and thirty men. William Pickman, William Orne, and Larkin Thorndike were the heavy owners, and Silas Smith was the master. She sent in some prizes, but a lot of little, less expensive vessels did better. The *Oliver Cromwell*, now altered into a ship, put to sea again, but under Captain Thomas Simmons and with

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[1] *Vice-Admiralty Records*, E.I.H.C., XLV, 167.

[2] *London Chronicle*, June 16, 1778.

George Cabot and Jonathan Ingersoll as the principal owners. The brig *Lion*, which had come in in May under Benjamin Warren with a Bristol brig she had captured, was sent out again at once under Captain John Carnes; Jonathan Peele was still her owner.

A new venture of the year was the schooner *Hornet*, armed with only two carriage guns and sixteen swivels, but carrying a crew of sixty men. She made two or three short cruises in the year of not over two months, probably along the coast. Nathaniel Reynolds and Nehemiah Buffington commanded her. At the same time there was a brig *Hornet* at sea under John Sellars. Including the smaller craft that are too numerous to note separately, there were commissioned in Salem during the spring months at least twenty-two different vessels; and it is also true that a lot of the smaller ones did fully as well as some of the bigger ones.

During July and August, only two new vessels were commissioned, namely, the sloops *Bowdoin* and *Fly*, with forty or fifty men each. Thomas Stevens commanded the *Bowdoin*. A few weeks later she went into Harbor Briton and captured the brig *Polly*, which was recaptured on her way to Salem [1] and sent to Halifax. These two were not by any means the only active vessels of that summer. The *Montgomery*, *Scorpion*, *Hornet*, and *Lively*, which had been out earlier, went into commission again, while probably the *Dolphin* and the *Congress* of the previous year's fleet were again in commission, though it may have been a new *Dolphin*. The *Congress*, still owned by the same people, was now under Samuel Hobbs, and soon sent in an interesting prize, namely, the brig *Otter* loaded with furs, 840 moose skins, 250 martins, 35 otter, 85 musquash, and 90 cat skins were some of the items, as well as 3 silver foxes which sold for 56 shillings! Moose skins sold for 60 shillings.[1]

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[1] *Vice-Admiralty Records*, E.I.H.C., XLV, 236.

Eighteen more privateers were commissioned before the end of the year, all but two of them in September and October. The *Bunker Hill* and the *Franklin* were off for their second cruises and the *Montgomery* for her third, commanded respectively by Michael Ogilbe, John Leach, and Thomas Benson, all different commanders. The *Franklin* soon got into the British trade route to the West Indies, and in November captured a snow and two brigs. One of the brigs was loaded with English goods for Antigua and mounted sixteen guns, but was soon subdued. At least one of these prizes got safely to Salem,[2] and probably all three of them did.[3] The *Bunker Hill* sent in at least one schooner, the *Delaware*, which sold for £5000,[4] but the auction sales show nothing for the *Montgomery*.

Two new large ships which became rather famous privateers appeared at this time, namely, the *General Pickering* and the *Pilgrim*. George Williams, a brother-in-law of Timothy Pickering, petitioned for a commission for the first, which was to be commanded by Jonathan Haraden, but she may not have sailed till the next spring. At any rate, her most famous cruise was in the next year. The *Pilgrim* was owned chiefly by Moses Brown and Andrew Cabot of Beverly and commanded by Hugh Hill. She was of two hundred tons, newly built at Newburyport expressly for a privateer, and carried sixteen nine-pounders and one hundred and forty men. Captain Hill was an Irishman thirty-seven years old who had come over to Marblehead. He remained in command of the *Pilgrim* for the next two years. She cruised across the Atlantic and was often in France.[1]

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[1] *Auction Sales*, E.I.H.C., XLIX, 109.

[2] *Independent Chronicle*, Feb. 4, 1779.

[3] *Auction Sales*, Feb. 25, 1779, E.I.H.C., XLIX, 110.

[4] *Ibid.*, 109.

One of her first prizes gives an idea of the chances run by American shipping at this time. A sloop called the *Dove* sailed from Virginia, only to be taken by a Halifax privateer. She was recaptured by the *Pilgrim* and ordered to Boston. Presently she was again captured by the British frigate *Chatham*. Just what happened next is not clear, but she must have been recaptured by some American vessel, for just outside of Boston she was again captured by H.M.S. *Charlestown* and headed for Halifax, where she finally arrived.[2]

Of less strength than the above ships, yet carrying sixty or more men, were the *True American* and the *Monmouth*. The former had been going since early in 1776, but had now been altered into a brig and was owned by Josiah Orne and her former commander, John Buffington. Robert Brookhouse was the new master. Probably the *South Carolina Packet*, sold by Captain Buffington in December, was one of her prizes; and in the following February she herself was sold to William Gray. The agents of the *Monmouth* sold in January a big snow called the *East India Packet*, with a remarkable cargo which included 3900 pounds of sarsaparilla, 186 deer skins, and 11 tons of logwood, which must have been one of the *Monmouth's* prizes. It is hard to disentangle the activities of the brig *Monmouth* of Salem from those of the equally active ship *Monmouth* of Newburyport. The brig was commanded by Samuel Ingersoll, and owned by E. H. Derby and Ichabod Nichols.

Of the lesser privateers of 1778 there were several pretty successful ones, judging from the Salem auction sales

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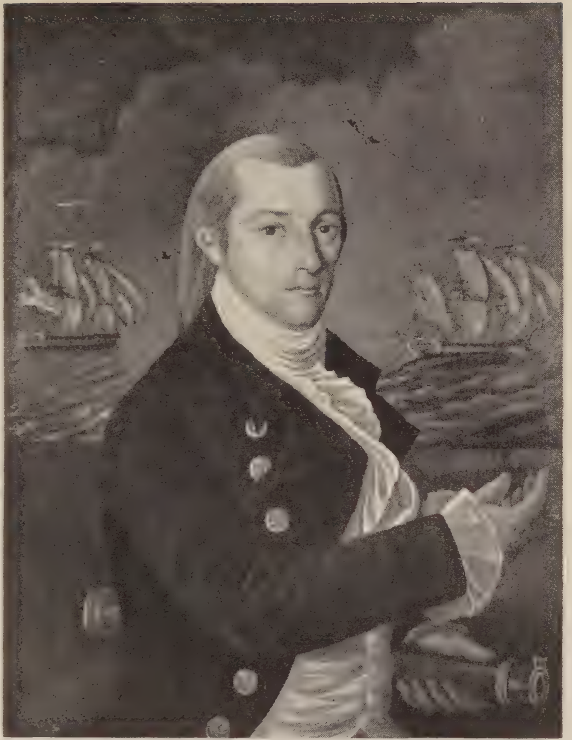
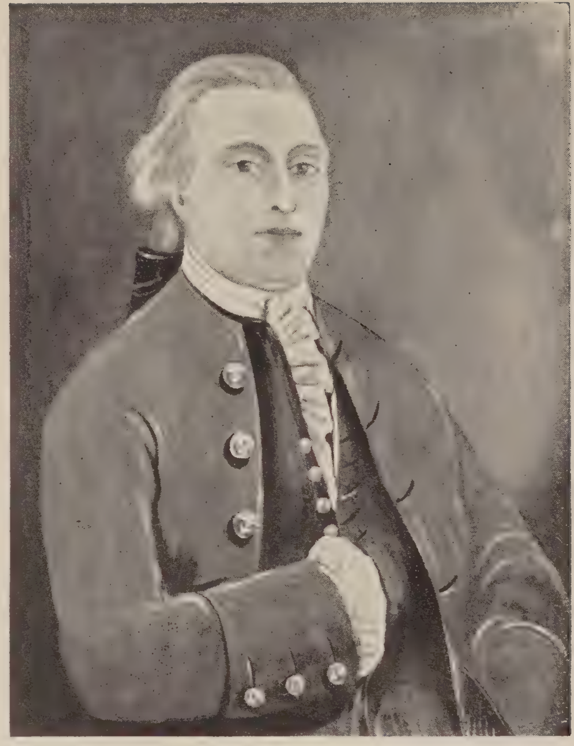
[1] Howe: *Beverly Privateers, Col. Soc. Mass. Pub.*, xxiv, 349–51.

[2] *Vice-Admiralty Records*, E.I.H.C., xlv, 165.



CAPTAIN JOHN CARNES, 1755–1796



CAPTAIN HUGH HILL, 1741–1829

alone, though it must be remembered there are many sales which cannot be traced back to their captors, and that many prizes were condemned in France and elsewhere. In any event, the brigantine *Betsy* was sold in November as a prize of the *Lexington*, a Derby-Nichols schooner commanded by Joseph Cook. Early in the next year, the results of the September cruise of the schooner *Sweat*, owned by Samuel Page and Josiah Orne, produced great results in the sale of the brigantine *Peggy* of one hundred and seventy tons, the sloops *Argyle* of seventy tons and *William* of sixty-five tons, and the schooner *Elizabeth* of seventy tons. The *Sweat* carried only eight guns and fifty men, but she was commanded by John Leach, who usually produced results. The *Roebuck*, commissioned in April[1] and again in October under William Gray, sent in the privateer schooner *Castor*, but probably accounted for many more.

All told, during the year 1778 Salem sent out four ships, one snow, twelve brigs and brigantines, twenty-six schooners, and eight or ten miscellaneous vessels which can be definitely accounted for, but there were probably many more whose records have been lost. A number of those whose activities we hear of do not have commissions on file, and the same may be true of many others of whose work we know nothing. This was the first year when large, swift vessels built definitely for the privateer service were sent out.

One of the captured privateersmen was questioned as to where he got his guns, which were very effective. 'We cast them,' was his reply. 'Yes, but where did you get the designs?' 'At Saratoga, mostly,' he answered.

During the year the coast was closely watched by the British. At least eleven different royal naval vessels, not to mention their tenders, made captures between Cape Sable and Nantucket. Among these were the *Rainbow*, *Blonde*, *Greyhound*, *Centurion*, *Unicorn*, *Venus*, and *Apollo*.[1] They captured a good many merchant ships, recaptured a good many prizes, and, at least, the armed schooner *Lively* under David Ropes, if not others. This was a pretty stiff blockade, and the wonder is that it was not more effective. It was apparently more useful in destroying regular trade than in interfering with the privateers, which seemed to slip in and out without much trouble, though as many as three British frigates could often be seen from Salem Harbor.

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[1] Felt, 2d, II, 269.

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[1] *Vice-Admiralty Records*, E.I.H.C., XLV, 237, 315, 318, 326.

CHAPTER XXXI

GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PRIVATEERS

1779–1783

It would require an entire volume to trace in detail the activities of the Salem privateer fleet during the remainder of the war, even in the same fashion in which the first four years have been presented, but these early years show the rise of the activity of the merchants and captains who supported it, the energy with which it was pushed, and the results accomplished against severe obstacles.

The year 1779 held one sad event for the Massachusetts privateers, namely, the ill-fated Penobscot expedition. The British had for some time realized the disadvantage of having no port in New England north of Cape Cod which could be used as a base for their cruisers and privateers, and sent an expedition in June which captured what is now Castine on Penobscot Bay and started fortifications. Massachusetts had early notice of this, and at once organized an expedition to oust the invaders, in which General Solomon Lovell of Weymouth commanded the land force and Dudley Saltonstall of New London, Connecticut, who happened to command the Continental frigate *Warren*, which was lent for the trip, commanded the naval force. This comprised, besides the *Warren*, two or three provincial vessels, five large privateers from Salem, and slightly lesser numbers from Newburyport, Marblehead, and Boston. Out of three hundred and twenty-four guns in the fleet, the Salem ships carried ninety-two and about five hundred of the two thousand men. Lovell pushed the siege vigorously, and would have succeeded brilliantly with any co-operation from the fleet;[1]

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[1] *Journal and Sketch of General Solomon Lovell*, Weymouth Hist. Soc., I, 55–81.

but Saltonstall, whether from treason, cowardice, or dumb obstinacy, refused any help, even when urged in a 'round robin' from his captains. The expedition arrived on July 25, and by the twenty-seventh Lovell had his men on shore and his works well started. On that very day a petition, signed by David Porter, of the Salem privateer *General Putnam*, and thirty other officers of the fleet, urged Saltonstall to attack at once,[1] but nothing came of it. Delay followed delay, till the inevitable happened. A British squadron appeared in the bay on August 13; General Lovell got his men on his transports and proceeded up-river, expecting to be covered by the fleet. The commodore had no plan, and the ships, left to their own devices, were chased up-river, one or two captured, and the rest burned to prevent capture. The Salem privateers *Hunter* and *Defence* and the *Hampden* from Portsmouth tried hard to escape behind Long Island, but the *Hunter* was driven ashore with all sails set, the *Hampden* was captured, and the *Defence* was beached and burned by her crew.[2] It was a complete disaster; yet the British force of seven vessels was little if any superior, though the individual ships were larger. It was the fault, primarily, of the commodore, who was court-martialed and cashiered. He ought to have been shot.

The loss to Salem was severe. True, the ships were in the employ of the province and the financial loss did not fall on the owners; but the *Black Prince*, *Hunter*, and *Hector* were of the finest of the Salem fleet, and could not be replaced immediately. The best part of the season for privateering was passing and the crews were scattered and demoralized, though most of them got ashore and escaped capture. The merchants complained bitterly at the slowness with which the losses were paid, and that, on account of steady depreciation of money, the settlements would not pay for half a new ship. 'We have lost our ships and the improvement of them,' writes Williams to Pickering. 'If it rains porrage, we have no dishes to receive it. When paid I judge won't get a ship for the two.' [1]

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[1] *Mass. Archives*, CXLV, 50.

[2] Wheeler: *History of Castine*, 45.

The Penobscot expedition was not the only event of the summer of 1779. The new ship *Harlequin*, Captain F. B. Dennis, owned by John Tucker, Aaron Wait, and others, had a stiff fight with a ship of twenty guns, but apparently subdued her, only a few days before the expedition sailed. A day later, Captain David Ropes in the brigantine *Wild Cat* succeeded in capturing a schooner of the royal navy after a hard fight, but next day he was in turn captured by a British frigate and taken into Halifax. The British were pretty cross about it, and ordered Ropes put in irons. Our General Court immediately ordered an English commander handled in the same way till Ropes was exchanged. The *Wild Cat* cruise was by no means a total loss, for in August the brigantine *Mercury* of one hundred tons and the ship *Ocean* of two hundred and twenty tons were being sold in Salem 'by order of the agents of the brigantine *Wild Cat*' for £17,200.

In the year 1779, not by any means all the luck was with the British. Of the Salem privateers, eight captured three or more prizes, and several as many as eight or nine. The fact that the ships lost at Penobscot would have accounted for several more is guaranteed by the fact that before the disaster the *Hunter*, commanded by Nathan Brown, had already captured three, including the British privateer brig *Lord Hillsborough*, and the *Black Prince*, under Captain Nat West, one.

The brigantine *Fame* of sixteen guns and one hundred men, under Samuel Hobbs, owned by Hasket Derby and

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[1] E.I.H.C., XLIV, 321.

Nathaniel Silsbee, began sending in prizes in July, and, before December, had sent into Salem a ship, three brigantines, a schooner, and two sloops running from two hundred and twenty tons down to seventy-five. The schooner *Sweat*, with eight carriage guns and fifty men under John Leach, did, if anything, better, and her owners, Samuel Page and Josiah Orne, must have found her a very profitable venture. Her agents sent to the auction sales a ship of two hundred tons, four brigantines, a schooner, and two sloops — nine hundred and fifty tons in all. Unfortunately, the good *Sweat* was probably the same vessel that in her last cruise of the year under Jesse Fearson was run ashore or driven ashore in Nova Scotia and captured by a sergeant of the Royal Fensible Americans.[1] The *Centipede*, a Derby schooner of four guns and fifty men, commanded by Gideon Henfield, was very successful in numbers, but the prizes were smaller — two small brigantines, a brig, and three sloops. But she got what she was supposed to get, and an attempt for larger game would have lost her. It hardly seems conceivable that the little schooner *Tiger*, commanded by Nathaniel Brookhouse, could have captured a brigantine of two hundred tons and a ship of one hundred and eighty tons, not to mention a schooner of seventy, but such appears to be the case, or at any rate they were sold at auction by order of her agents.[2]

One of the great privateers of the war, the ship *Pilgrim*, of eighteen guns and one hundred and forty men, sailed late in 1778, still under Hugh Hill; Joseph Peabody, later one of Salem's greatest merchants, seems to have been a prize master on this cruise.[3] The ship belonged chiefly to the Cabots of Beverly. She cruised along the Irish coast, in the English Channel, and in the Bay of Biscay. In her first six weeks she captured eight prizes and put all her prisoners ashore in Sligo Bay. Eleven of her prizes got safely home. All of her prizes were over one hundred tons, and many of them did not surrender without a stiff fight.[1]

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[1] *Vice-Admiralty Records*, E.I.H.C., XLV, 321.

[2] *Auction Sales*, E.I.H.C., XLIX, 113, 114.

[3] Hunt: *American Merchants*, I, 372.

The brigantine *Franklin*, a Derby vessel commanded by John Leach, got back from her cruise off Cape Finisterre and started off again in April under Captain Joseph Robinson, who still later commanded the *Pilgrim*. She sent in a ship and two brigantines, all well over one hundred tons, and also the British privateer *True Blue*, perhaps the American schooner which was captured and later served as a tender for one of the British frigates.

There is space to mention only the most important activities, and these to a large extent cover only the prizes actually sold in Salem, which were but a small part of their work. Many ships were destroyed at sea, used as cartels for prisoners, or sent into other ports. A good many were recaptured. At least twenty-seven of the fleet took prizes, and during the year sixty-eight prizes were sold in Salem. It is quite useless to mention the prices at which ships sold, for, without a complete study of the inflation of the currency, they convey no correct idea. Vessels that in the autumn of 1776 were selling for £600 to £800, in the fall of 1780 brought from £50,000 to £90,000. Such can be the results of inflation in a few years.

During the year, the Salem, Beverly, and Danvers merchants sent to sea at least fifty-five different vessels. The vessels were far larger and more powerful in men and guns than in any previous fleet, and the total number was slightly greater. Thirty-four were ships, brigs, and brigantines, compared with only sixteen in 1778.

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[1] *Beverly Privateers, Col. Soc. Mass. Pub.*, XXIV, 349.

With the French alliance and the presence of French fleets in the West Indies, the British cruisers had other duties than chasing American merchantmen, and voyages to the French islands became more possible. The shortage of goods also made these voyages very profitable if they could be completed, so there began to be a tendency to transfer some privateers into the class of letter-of-marque vessels. The famous *Oliver Cromwell*, still commanded by Captain James Barr, as sturdy an old fighter as ever lived, was sent out with the following instructions:

> *Beverly, Feb. 8th, 1780.*
>
> Capt. James Barr,
>
> As you command our ship *Oliver Cromwell* bound to the West Indies as a Letter of Marque and as you must be sensible that a careful attention to our Interest during the voyage, will in effect be the promoting your own, we make no doubt you will punctually comply with our orders as far as circumstances will permit.
>
> When your ship is ready & the wind invites, proceed directly for Guadaloup & on your arrival, dispose of your Cargo, & lay out the proceeds, together with the amount of your Bills (if honored) in Molasses & Cotton & return home taking particular care not to load deep.
>
> We cannot think it prudent to cruise on either passage but don't forbid your chasing any Vessel that falls in your way, provided your ship sails fast & appearances encourage the pursuit, but even in that case you can't be too cautious. Should you be fortunate enough to make prize of any vessel, order her either to the West Indies or Home, as safety & the Kind of Cargo she may have shall determine your judgment.
>
> We wish you a prosperous voyage and are
> Your Friends & Owners
> (signed) EDW^{D} ALLEN
>
> Signal for your Ship &
> Prizes Ensign & Pendant at the
> Main Top Gallant Masthead
> If you should be taken throw your Bills over[1]

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[1] E.I.H.C., XXVII, 139.

She apparently got down and back safely and was sent down again in July. If she got any prizes, they were sent to the West Indies, for none were sold in Salem that year for her account.

The *General Pickering*, which had been out under Jonathan Haraden during the winter, was converted into a letter-of-marque, and reached Salem in April from the West Indies with a full cargo of sugar, cotton, coffee, cocoa, and rum. 'A much better cruise than privateering,' remarks George Williams, her chief owner.[1] 'She will sail in a few days with the sugar for Bilboa.' Just to show that the letters-of-marque did not wholly neglect the aggressive attitude toward the enemy, it is worth while to trace that Bilboa voyage of the *Pickering*.

Jonathan Haraden, the commander of the ship, was one of the great characters of the Revolution, and not even John Paul Jones or John Manley has a greater claim to clean, cool courage and intrepid daring than he. Of the Cape Ann family, he always lived in Salem; early at sea, he was a ship captain before the Revolution. In 1777, he distinguished himself as commander of the Massachusetts brigantine *Tyrannicide*, and stayed in her about two years, before he took over the *General Pickering*, of eighteen guns and one hundred men. Whether as a privateer or letter-of-marque, her list of prizes was a long one, and in every encounter the intrepid courage of her commander shines out as the conspicuous cause of success.[2]

The *Pickering* left for Bilboa about the first of May. On the way over, a British cutter, with six more guns than she carried, attacked her, but was soon glad to make her escape. On the way into the Bay of Biscay just at nightfall, Haraden sighted a big British privateer larger than the *Pickering* and carrying eight more guns. She turned out to be the *Golden Eagle*, and could not seem to decide whether to run or fight, but Haraden could. Silently in the night the *Pickering* was brought alongside. 'What ship is that?' came the challenge. 'An American frigate. Strike or I'll sink you with a broadside!' roared Haraden. The British master, taken off his guard, surrendered to a weaker ship, as he found much to his chagrin when brought aboard. Both ships proceeded toward Bilboa. The next day the British skipper with great glee pointed out to Haraden a large ship which he said was the powerful British privateer *Achilles*, with forty guns and one hundred and fifty men. The *Pickering* was rated at sixteen guns, and after sending a prize crew to the *Golden Eagle* had considerably less than the forty-five men she started with. The air was so light that the *Achilles* succeeded in recapturing the *Golden Eagle* before the *Pickering* could reach her, so she proceeded on to Bilboa. Nothing happened during the day, so Haraden turned in for a good night's rest and was called at dawn with the news that the *Achilles* was coming. He succeeded in persuading ten of the captured crew of the *Golden Eagle* to join his crew, and with these he prepared to fight. All Haraden wanted was to reach Bilboa, and he ran close in shore behind a line of shoals so that the *Achilles* must submit to a raking fire as she approached. She stood it for two hours, while the shores and headlands were covered with the entire population of Bilboa out to see the duel. What finally settled it was when Haraden fired a broadside of iron crowbars which he had taken out of the *Golden Eagle*. Haraden chased the *Achilles* for three hours, egging his gunners on to shoot away a mast or a spar, but she was light and the

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[1] Williams to Pickering, April 19, 1780, E.I.H.C., XLIV, 322.

[2] For a fuller account of Haraden see S. H. Batchelder: 'Jonathan Haraden,' in *Sketches about Salem People*, Salem, 1930; and R. D. Paine: *Salem Ships and Shipmasters.*

Pickering was loaded, so she escaped. He had to be satisfied with retaking the *Golden Eagle*, on which John Carnes, the American prize master, had been a most interested spectator. Haraden entered Bilboa in triumph, was carried through the city at the head of a cheering procession, and was wined and dined as long as he would stand it. The battle had been a most spectacular one, in clear view of everybody on shore, who saw a smaller American defeat a more powerful Britisher.

On September 21, 1780, his owner, George Williams, wrote, 'Captain Haraden is arrived safe at Salem from Bilboa with three prizes, brigs loaded with dry fish, 4600 quintals, which is a great service to the owners.' Evidently Haraden was not idle on his homeward voyage. Later in the same letter Williams adds, 'Haraden's name rings all over Spain and France for his brave defence of his ship.' [1]

The vessels taken on the cruise home were the brigantines *Rodney*, *Myrrh*, and *Venus*. The *Rodney* was a large vessel of one hundred and twenty tons, and sold for £90,000 in the depreciated currency.[2]

During the year, some twenty-eight prizes were sold in Salem for the account of sixteen different privateers. This does not seem much of a haul, and must be accounted for by the fact that most of the big overseas cruisers and those down in the West Indies sent their prizes into French and Spanish ports for sale, and that those taken on this side were sent often to Boston, Newburyport, and other ports which they could reach, as well as to Salem. In June, Williams wrote, 'The March'ts of this Town in the Spring Voyages has been successfull,' which meant a great deal for him, as it was about the only time during the war that he admitted it.[1] He added, 'hope the Newfoundland cruises will turn out to some account.' This referred to the sending of a group of privateers to the vicinity of Newfoundland to intercept the supply ships going and coming to Quebec and Halifax, and the brigs loaded with salt for the fisheries. The result of the Newfoundland raid is best summarized in his own language:

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[1] Williams to Pickering, E.I.H.C., XLV, 124, 125.

[2] *Auction Sales*, E.I.H.C., XLIX, 123, 124.

> We was in hopes our priverteres on the Newfound Land Station would have done well. Yesterday the Brig Forten Arrived, and sayes the Brigs Tyger & Griffen from this Town is Taken & Severel Frigates, Sloop & Luger of war, is Cruisin after our priverteers. The Forten & Griffin Took the Luger of 16 Guns 6^{lb} & a Ship with 1800 barrills of provisions &c. The Forten Took a ship with Salt, Cordage &c & a Vessel with out. She also Took from the Land 1200 Q^{t} dryed Fish. The above vessels is expected every minnit.
>
> | | | | |
> |---|---|---|---|
> | Arrived from the | Brig Tyger | 2 Brigs of Salt | 3300hh^{ds} |
> | do | Sch^{r} Cutter | 3 ships do | |
> | do | Sch^{r} Santepe | 1 do do | |
> | do | Ship Harlequin | 1 sch^{r} do | |
> | do | Brig Saretoga | 1 Brig of 253 Cask of Madra Wine | |
> | do | Brig Griffen | 1 Brig 200 Cask of Moll^{s} Rum Sugar & Coffe | |
> | do | Ship Brutus | 1 ship, 24,000 G^{al} moll^{s} | |
>
> Y^{e} above is Salem priverteers. The ship Starkes of Cape Ann Arrived yesterday, out 3 weeks, off Cape Britton Took 3 Ships, one 500 350, 300 Tons. Their Cargoes 600 hh^{ds} Rum, 200 hh^{ds} Sugar, 100 half Cask of Madara Wine, Iron, Steel & all Sorts of dry goods.[2]

One of the other privateers which did good service during the year was the *Essex* under John Cathcart, which sent two good ships into Salem and lost a third on the way home. The *Margaret Christiana* was pretty well over toward Newfoundland when caught, and was bound from London to Quebec. The *Essex* relieved her of a substantial quantity of provisions and other valuable goods and ordered her to Salem, but unfortunately H.M.S. *Surprise* met her a few days later and took her to Halifax.[1] The two that got home were fine prizes: the ships *Esther* of one hundred and sixty tons and *Mary* of three hundred and twenty tons. Money was still depreciating, and with their cargoes they sold for £243,000. One is amused to note that three British ensigns sold for about the same price as three barrels of beef.

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[1] Williams to Pickering, June 6, 1780, E.I.H.C., xliv, 324.

[2] Williams to Pickering, E.I.H.C., xlv, 122, 123.

The *Junius Brutus*, commanded on her first cruise of the year by John Leach, sent in the ship *Argyle*, which may have put up a good fight and been badly used up, for the hull was sold separately from the rigging. She was part of the Quebec fleet and was only one of several taken. On her second cruise off Charleston, South Carolina, under John Brooks in October, the *Brutus* was reported as having taken four Jamaica vessels bound into Charleston, which was then in possession of the British, and also a store ship with all the guns and stores for a sixty-four-gun ship.[2] These prizes were apparently not sold in Salem, but at least some of them got somewhere to safety, though when the *Brutus* herself arrived in December they had not been reported.

Some of the other vessels which accounted for three or more prizes were the brigantine *Tiger*, the schooner *Centipede*, the ship *Jack*, and the schooner *Surprise*. In selecting the successful privateers of the year, one constantly finds the same group of captains shifting from ship to ship, but still making successful cruises. It is the real men who count.

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[1] *Vice-Admiralty Records*, E.I.H.C., XLV, 229.

[2] *Auction Sales*, E.I.H.C., XLIX, 121; Williams to Pickering, Oct. 24, 1780, E.I.H.C., XLV, 125.

In 1780, the Salem fleet had still grown slightly. There were over sixty different ships at sea preying on the enemy, seven or eight more than the year before, but the conspicuous change was that the ships, brigs, and brigantines, all as a rule the large vessels, had increased from thirty-four to forty-two. There were but three sloops, compared with thirteen in 1776. The fleet was growing in power more than in numbers. It was becoming a hard-fighting, fast-sailing aggregation. For once Williams allows himself to express satisfaction: 'This town stands the war at present well, by the great exertion in privateering and merchant vessels. Goods plenty, no money to speak of puts all hands to work to no how to pay taxes';[1] but he grumbled throughout the year about the lack of activity of the Continental Navy, for which many excuses have been made. The real reason was that individuals could as usual run the business far better than the government. He rightly says,[2] 'If our continental ships had been kept flying as our privateers are, they would have made a figure.'

All during the winter of 1780–81 the Salem merchants, encouraged by the success of the year, prepared for the spring cruises. The distinction between privateers and letters-of-marque was still vaguer than it had been. The idea that a letter-of-marque should carry only eight men to one hundred tons burden was a bit ridiculous when a three-hundred-ton ship had a battery of twenty nine-pounders, and the chances were that, though legally listed for twenty-four, she actually had a hundred or more men, and did about as much execution as a privateer, never hesitating to do a bit of cruising off her course if the picking was good.

[1] Williams to Pickering, E.I.H.C., XLV, 127.

[2] *Ibid.*, July 2, 1780.

Not only were the new vessels ships and brigs, but they were larger and faster vessels, and the guns, though perhaps not more numerous, were nine- and twelve-pounders instead of fours and sixes. The masters were no longer amateurs; they were veterans of a dozen well-fought fights and knew how to train and drill their crews. The crews if anything were not so good; the supply of Essex County seamen was giving out. Many had moved up as officers to man the larger fleet, many others had been killed or their vessels reported missing, and those captured were still in prison, had died, or had been forced into the British navy. The consequence was that the ships were manned by a miscellaneous lot captured on the prizes or picked up in earlier cruises in foreign ports.

The opening fight of the year 1781 was undoubtedly that of the *Pilgrim* and the *Mary*. The *Pilgrim* was returning from the West Indies when she sighted the English ship. For five hours they lay yardarm to yardarm, fighting bitterly. The captain and four men of the *Mary* were killed, while Captain Robinson lost nine killed and two wounded. Finally, the *Mary* surrendered, while the *Pilgrim* could be kept afloat only by constant pumping.[1] The crew of the *Mary* tried to retake her from the prize crew on the way home, but did not succeed. The Americans decided to take no more chances, however, so bundled them into the longboat, fully equipped with provisions and a compass, and turned them adrift. They got ashore safely. The *Pilgrim* got several prizes in safely from the nine captured on the cruise, and arrived herself in February.[2]

The new ship *Cicero*, Captain Hugh Hill, sailed as a letter-of-marque for Cadiz *via* the West Indies. On her voyage she took several prizes. While waiting at Cadiz

[1] *Beverly Privateers, Col. Soc. Mass. Pub.*, xxiv, 351.

[2] *Boston Gazette*, Feb. 19, 1781.

for her cargo, she went a-privateering and took the ship *Mercury*, which plied as a packet to Cadiz. Part of her cargo was £15,000 in gold, which was a very welcome part of the booty. On her return trip, John Trumbull, the painter, Charles Adams, son of John Adams, and Captain John Barney, who had just escaped from Mill Prison, came as passengers.

In February, Salem suffered an unexpected blow. St. Eustatia, one of the Dutch Islands in the West Indies, had been a sort of neutral clearing-house for the American privateers and merchantmen. This was conspicuously so when, on the thirteenth of February, Admiral Rodney swooped down and captured the whole lot, though some six hundred Americans in port offered to man the forts and fight. Captain Haraden was there with the *General Pickering* and had several prizes with him. They all shared the same fate. 'I have lost part of two ships and a brig at St. Eustatia by that old Rodney,' wrote Williams bitterly.

A few days later there was better news. Two English privateers were reported off Cape Cod. The *Junius Brutus* and the *Neptune* were lying in the harbor not even in commission. They were equipped with great haste, and forty-eight hours later, they were shepherding one of the Englishmen back to Salem as a prize, getting her safely by the British guard ship.

A little later, word came that Captain John Carnes in the brig *Montgomery* had had a stiff fight with a British cutter and lost several men, but had finally beaten off his adversary. About the same time Captain Turner in the *Franklin* lost one killed and one wounded in a fight that lasted forty minutes, but he took a good prize. One of the best ships lost was the *Essex*, John Cathcart, master, which had sent in a lot of prizes since she was commissioned in 1780. In May she sailed from Beverly to lie along the trade route from England to the West Indies. There she presently met the *Pilgrim*, *Rambler*, and *Defence*, all similarly engaged. They chased various prizes and often inadvertently each other. Finally, the *Essex* pursued the *Queen Charlotte* of thirty-two guns, which was too much, and the *Essex* herself became a prize. This incident of the meeting of all these ships is interesting as showing how these privateers swarmed over the seas.

The journal of the surgeon of the *Pilgrim* has been preserved for her cruise beginning in April, 1781, and gives an interesting account of such a typical voyage.[1] This is not strictly a log in technical language. They sailed on the nineteenth, but did not like the looks of a ship they saw at noon, so slipped into Portsmouth and went to a ball in the evening, 'where the appearance and behaviour of the Ladies could not fail to give satisfaction.' In the next week they chased two vessels only to find they were Americans, but then they spoke the brigantine *Three Friends*, bound from Cork to New York, and 'immediately despatched her to Salem in charge of a prize master.' May 3, they tackled the brig *Alfred* from Liverpool, mounting fourteen six-pounders, which fought a gallant fight before she surrendered, 'mast and rigging exceeding injured.' They replaced the rigging and dispatched her for Salem. A week later, they met the *Albion*, bound for London. They changed the destination of her Jamaica rum and sugar to Salem. Three days later, the sloop *Stagg* and the brig *Ann*, both bound for Newfoundland, fell into their net. They cleaned out the *Stagg* into the *Ann*, put their fifty-five prisoners aboard with suitable provisions, 'and gave them permission to go where they pleased.'

Two days later, things looked less auspicious: 'Saw 120 sail from the main top. They appeared like a floating town. We discovered five ships of the line which looked formidable.' They hung around to pick up stragglers, and two days later, dawn found them near the fleet. The commodore's seventy-four-gun ship *Egmont* spread all her canvas, but they 'did not crowd sail.' The *Egmont* got nowhere with the chase and ordered a frigate to chase them. She did her best, but in a few hours they 'could not see her hull from the deck.'

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[1] *Log of the Pilgrim, Col. Soc. Mass. Pub.*, XXIV, 96 *et seq.*

It was early in June that the meeting with the *Essex*, *Rambler*, and *Defence* took place, and two days later that the *Queen Charlotte* spoiled the meeting. She first chased the *Pilgrim*, which completely outsailed her; then she overhauled the *Essex*, which surrendered just when the *Pilgrim*, cleared for action, was coming to the rescue. Next day they met the *Rambler* of Beverly and caught Admiral Rodney's dispatch boat *Snake*, and also a brig for New York.

Later, after very heavy weather, they ran into the fleet again, but the convoy was pretty vigilant. Still, on May 18, they captured the ship *Good Intent* from the West Indies and sent her to Brest. They met the *Rambler* again and they sailed along together. She picked up a couple of prizes and Captain Robinson dined with her captain, but next day fifteen large ships were in sight. Two of these pursued, and, leaving the prizes to their fate, it took them two days to shake off their pursuers and slip into Brest.

Here the *Rambler* disappears, but is not captured, and before the end of the summer the *London Chronicle* of August 23, 1781, reports a British ship 'chased into Loch Swilly by two American privateers,' the *Cicero* and the *Rambler*.

The *Pilgrim* was completely coppered at Brest and started home. His Majesty's packet *Comet* from Jamaica was captured, then the brigs *Minerva* and *Hope*, the schooner *Liverpool*, and finally the ship *Peggy* with passengers, 'a Mrs Rogers and two agreeable young ladies, her daughters.' They dodged two big British letters-of-marque on cruise, and discovered that their many prisoners had decided to attempt to capture the *Pilgrim*. 'We ironed them hand and foot,' and that settled that. Off George's Bank they sighted two warships, one with two tiers of guns. They dodged in near shore, where they suspected the British ships would not dare go, and next day reached Beverly, but feared the *Peggy* might be recaptured. She was not, and reached Beverly next day, though the *Pilgrim* put out again to the rescue on a rumor that she was fighting with a ship out in the bay. It was two or three months before the *Pilgrim* sailed again, and her next cruise belongs to the next year.

There was no sadness of farewell when crews were being assembled for the privateers, as indicated by one bill from Jonathan Archer of the Blue Anchor Tavern to the agent of the *Sturdy Beggar*. She was commissioned August 10, but it took a full month to assemble the crew and every few days they had a 'rendezvous.' Nine of these parties cost in the vicinity of £15, and 67½ bowls of punch and 36 of cherry tod, not to mention much grog, were consumed. If many privateers were floated off to sea with as much good liquor as that, the town must have been a gay old place, for privateers were sailing at the rate of two or three a week a good part of the year. It was fortunate so many prizes supplied rum, and it is too bad the making of cherry tod is a lost art.

A sad incident of the year was the fight of the *Marquis de Lafayette*, a ship of sixteen guns and one hundred men, which was commissioned August 13 under Ebenezer Reed. A fortnight later, she attacked a brig of thirty-two guns and fought a bloody two hours' drawn battle. She was unable to take the brig and finally drew off much damaged, with eight killed and fourteen wounded. This was a sad loss of men, but not the end of the *Lafayette*, however; she was still bringing in prizes the following year.

In 1781, the name *Grand Turk* appears on the records as a fine new fast ship of three hundred tons, with twenty-two guns built at the south shore to the order of Mr. Elias Hasket Derby. Thomas Simmons was in command when she was commissioned in June, but as to just where she went no record remains, except that she captured two British brigs. Later, under Captain Joseph Pratt, she haunted the coast of Ireland, sending prizes to Bilboa, and then went to the West Indies and sent her prizes to Martinico.[1]

It was becoming clear that the game was decidedly to the swift and the strong. Salem's navy had risen to seventy or eighty ships at sea, but, more striking still, well over fifty of these were of the more powerful class. Outside of the groups of merchants who could maintain the strongest ships, there was less return than in the previous years, but the people kept up the fight, and the year 1782, the last of war, showed them ready to do their bit with money and ships. Nearly a hundred vessels went out, of which twenty-six to thirty were ships and about an equal number brigs and brigantines. The schooner group also increased, but many of them were bigger vessels than in the earlier year.

Most Americans regard the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown in October, 1781, as the end of the Revolution. As a matter of fact the war went steadily on, and perhaps more vigorously at sea than before. Even the preliminary articles of peace were not signed for over a year, and Congress did not proclaim the cessation of fighting till April 11, 1783, nearly eighteen months after Cornwallis surrendered. Much could happen in that time, and did. In May, 1782, Williams wrote Pickering that the merchants of the town had lost much money the past year, and that if he had no luck during the summer he would have to go to sea again.

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[1] R. E. Peabody: *Log of the Three Grand Turks*, 13-18.

Whether the French pressure had let up or whether the privateers had got unduly reckless, it is true that the records of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Halifax show more condemnations of American privateers and letters-of-marque, and as many recaptures as any year of the war. The *Chatham*, *Charlestown*, *Rainbow*, *Assurance*, *Orpheus*, *Warwick*, *Garland*, *Buckram*, and *True Blue*, all apparently British naval vessels, contributed to this harvest, not to mention some well-equipped British privateers like the *Lord Cornwallis*, which came into Boston Bay in November. The American vessels condemned included the *Comet*, *Defence*, *Eagle*, *Fanny*, *Flying Fish*, *Greyhound*, *Hero*, *Nancy*, *Robust*, and *Salem Packet*; among the recaptured prizes were vessels taken by the *Pilgrim*, *Swift*, *Minerva*, *Cato*, *Franklin*, and *Marquis de Lafayette*.

On January 1, 1782, the *Grand Turk* was in the harbor of Bilboa, but she was soon homeward bound, and captured on the way to Salem the schooners *Triton* and *Primrose* and the brigantine *Thomas and Betsy*. These were far less valuable, however, than the *John and Grace* and the *Mary*, which were sold for her account at Bilboa. A summer cruise brought in at least two prizes, and in the autumn the *Grand Turk* sailed for the West Indies. In a few days she headed the British ship *Minerva* back to Salem. This may have been the ship captured the year before by the *Cato* and recaptured by the British. The West India prizes were condemned at Martinico.[1]

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[1] R. E. Peabody: *Log of the Three Grand Turks*, 24, Appendix A.

The *Pilgrim's* West India cruise was already under way at the beginning of the year. On the way down she met a ship of about her size; in maneuvering to get into the most advantageous position for attack, the two vessels collided with some damage, only to discover that the other ship was the *Mohawk,* also out of Salem! The captains were evidently not pleased with each other. 'Much was said on this affair respecting seamanship,' remarks the journalist. 'Each party were naturally urgent to vindicate their own conduct.' [1] This may have had some bearing on the fact that when the *Pilgrim* next day captured a rich prize, the *Hercules,* Captain Elias Smith of the *Mohawk* and Captain Israel Johnson of the brig *Swift,* which accompanied her, filed a claim to a share which Captain Robinson would by no means admit. The party was broken up next day by the appearance of a big British frigate which chased the *Pilgrim.* The prize *Hercules* settled the dispute by sinking, and her crew were taken off by the *Mohawk.*

The *Pilgrim* stopped at the island of Tobago to land the master of the *Hercules* and such of her men as did not join the *Pilgrim's* crew, which shows how loose was the allegiance of these crews. They cruised south to Barbados, but sighted mostly big ships, which they took to be British frigates or American cruisers. Finally, they met the *Scourge* of Norwich, Connecticut, cruised with her a while, and caught a Newfoundland brig and the mail boat from England. Then they went into St. Pierre on Martinico, where they found all their prizes arrived.

In Martinico, Captain Robinson found a group of Salem privateers and a plan under way to take the island of Tortola, chief of the Virgin Islands, now held by the British. He cheerfully joined in with the *Pilgrim.* They adopted regulations for the government of the fleet, chose John Carnes as commodore, and sailed March 2. There was quite a fleet under Commodore Carnes, rated about as follows:

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[1] *Log of the Pilgrim, Col. Soc. Mass. Pub.,* xxv, 109.

Vessel	Rig	Master	Armament	Crew
Porus	ship	John Carnes	22 nine-pounders	118
Pilgrim	ship	John Robinson	18 nine-pounders	140
Junius Brutus	ship	Nathaniel Brookhouse	20 six-pounders	95
Franklin[1]	ship	Silas Devol	18 six-pounders	85
Halker[1]	——	—— Cane	16 six-pounders	105

It is a question whether the *Pilgrim's* crew had not diminished somewhat, but there were well over five hundred men in the fleet. Two hundred chosen men under Major Courtis of the marines were selected to make the landing, which was to be made in the night as a surprise. The one weakness was the French pilot from Martinico, who pretended to be expert and was not. They ran past the harbor ten or twelve miles, and only got back in broad daylight. The element of surprise was gone, the inhabitants were on the alert; the rich English merchantmen which they expected to capture had learned the night before of their approach and had escaped to sea, and some English warships were reported approaching. The expedition disbanded and the ships went their several ways. The chief result was the recapture of the Salem privateer *Macaroni*. Moreover, two of the British ships which had fled to neutral ground, finding the *Porus* alone, went out after her, and did considerable damage before the fleet came back and chased them back to their safe ground. The *Porus* got back to Salem all right, however, and came down on another cruise in the autumn.[2]

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[1] There is no evidence of where the *Halker* hailed from. The *Franklin* was a Salem ship, though Captain Devol undoubtedly belonged to the famous Davols of Bristol County.

[2] *Boston Gazette*, May 5, 1783.

The *Pilgrim* cruised around in the Leeward Islands, meeting a lot of Danish and Swedish ships, but no possible prizes for several weeks except the *Suffolk*, bound for Jamaica from Liverpool. They took her, and she arrived safely at St. Kitts; near Barbados two frigates, the *Fortune* and the *Pegasus*, chased them, but they arrived at Martinico to find the *Scourge* had been taken by the sixty-four-gun ship *Prothee*. Captain John Derby came in from Salem in the *Patty* while they were there. They stopped at Basse Terre and then sailed north. They recaptured a British prize and caught the brigs *Neptune*, *Appledore*, and *Beaton*, and ordered them to Beverly.

They met the sloop *Rainbow*, Captain Webb, from Salem, off Nova Scotia in July, and with him put into Gabarus Bay near Louisburg for wood and water. They seemed to have no fear of landing in enemy territory. Probably the natives were far more terrified, and rightly so. They had no luck off Nova Scotia, as it was a bit late for the Quebec fleet, so they returned to Beverly.

Another interesting chain of events leading up to the death of Captain David Ropes about a month before the *Pilgrim* visited Cape Breton is interesting as showing the continuity of events, could we only trace them as we can in this case. In 1779, the ship *Jack* was commissioned under Nathan Brown; she was captured the following summer in the St. Lawrence along with the *Harlequin* and the *Eagle*.[1] This was probably the vessel that was recaptured in August, 1781, by two French frigates, sent into Boston under the name *Saucy Jack*, and sold to Salem merchants.[2] At any rate, a ship *Jack*, fourteen guns and sixty men, started out in the fall of 1781, with David Ropes as master and William Gray as lieutenant, for a cruise to Nova Scotia, and met her fate June 12, 1782, at the hands of the British privateer *Observer*, of about her strength but far greater man-power.

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[1] *Independent Chronicle*, Sept. 14, 1780.

[2] Howe: *Beverly Privateers*, *Col. Soc. Mass. Pub.*, XXIV, 384.

The story of how the *Observer* came to be so well manned begins with the sailing from Beverly of the four-hundred-ton ship *Lyon*, Captain Tuck, formerly the British ship *George*, a prize of the *Ranger*, on May 6, loaded with masts and spars for Cadiz. She was barely outside the harbor when the frigate *Blonde*, which had made herself obnoxious on many previous occasions, captured her and ordered her to Halifax. Captain Tuck and the crew were transferred to the *Blonde*, which also proceeded to Halifax, but a few days later was wrecked on Seal Island and became a total loss, leaving the crew on a desolate island. Just at this juncture appeared Captain Daniel Adams, of the Salem sloop *Lively*, and the *Scammel* of Boston. Captain Adams at once lay to, and offered to take Captain Thornbury and his marooned crew to the mainland. This he did, and supplied them with food and necessaries, all of which Captain Thornbury gratefully acknowledged. He supplied a pass so that Captain Adams and the sixty-four American prisoners, now released, would have safe-conduct to Salem; in return, Captain Adams gave him and his men a safe-conduct pass to Halifax.[1] As Captain Thornbury and his crew were sailing northward from Yarmouth, they met the *Observer*, which had been sent to rescue them; thus the *Observer* had a full man-of-war crew from the *Blonde* when she met the *Jack* outside Halifax on May 28, and overwhelming man-power.

The ships were of about equal size, but the *Observer* now had a far more powerful crew of one hundred and seventy-three men, with the *Blonde's* officers and men in charge of her guns. At the first broadside, Captain Ropes fell mortally wounded, but Lieutenant Gray took over and a stubborn fight of two or three hours followed. An attempt to board was repelled, though Lieutenant Gray at that point was pinned to the bow gun carriage by a bayonet through his thigh. The *Jack* finally broke away and tried to escape, but the *Observer* was soon alongside ready to board again, and, with only ten men left on deck, at 2 P.M. the *Jack* surrendered. Captain Gray and his men were well treated and immediately paroled, reaching Salem July 18, no doubt through the good auspices of Captain Thornbury. One of the fine aspects of this war was that when the heat and excitement of contest was over, you found beneath on both sides courteous, kindly gentlemen.

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[1] *Nova Scotia Gazette*, June 11, 1782.

Another kind of fight was the attack on the brigantine *Ranger* the following month. She was owned partly in Boston but mostly in Salem; Thomas Simmons, the noted privateersman, Thomas Perkins, and Joseph Peabody, later the great Salem merchant, were respectively master and first and second officers. She loaded flour at Alexandria, Virginia, dropped down-river, and anchored to wait a favorable wind for Havana. At eleven o'clock at night the watch gave the alarm of boats approaching. Captain Simmons and Mr. Peabody rushed on deck, to be met by a volley of musketry. The captain fell, but Peabody rushed down the deck in his white nightshirt, grabbed a boarding-pike, and, with the help of one or two men, repelled the assailants, already climbing up the bow; then seizing cannon balls they threw them down to injure the boats, but soon had to repel another attack on the other side. Peabody in his white nightshirt was everywhere. 'We've sunk one, now let's sink another!' he yelled, heaving a heavy cannon ball overside. The men jumped to the work with cheers, and the boats soon dropped astern, to be lost in the darkness. The attackers were Anderson and Barrett, two noted tory refugees. The fight lasted three glasses, and the assailants were said to have had fifteen killed and thirty-eight wounded, while the brig lost one killed and three wounded. The captain was badly hurt; Mr. Peabody had a bullet in his wrist, a bit of his scalp with some hair was shot off, his right elbow was laid open to the bone, and a bullet had cut through the flesh on his left shoulder, but he did not realize he had been struck till after the fight! The tories turned out to be a crowd which infested St. George's Island and had already taken several vessels.[1]

This *Ranger* incident and the following one are interesting as showing Salem men ready to resist any incident of war and to fight in new and unusual ways, worthy of the escapades of Drake and Morgan, and most annoying to the pride and morale of the enemy. Four little privateers, with not over one hundred and fifty men and forty guns in the outfit, decided to ravage Lunenburg, about twenty or thirty miles from the British naval base at Halifax. The Salem vessels were the *Hero* and the *Hope*. What happened is best described in the contemporary account:

> landed Ninety Men two Miles below it, under the Command of Lieut. Barteman, on Monday the first Day of July Instant at half after Seven o'Clock a.m. This gallant Corps with amazing Rapidity reached the Town and, amidst many heavy Discharges of Musquetry from the Enemy, burnt the Commanding Officer's House, a Blockhouse in the North West Part of the Town, spik'd up two 24 pounders, and forc'd the Enemy into the South Blockhouse, from whence they kept up a brisk and animating Fire and declared their Intention to hold out to the last Extremity. But their Animation subsided upon the Receipt of a few 4-pound Shot from the *Hero* and they reluctantly surrendered

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[1] Hunt: *American Merchants*, I, 374–76; *Salem Gazette*, Aug. 15, 1782.

> themselves Prisoners of War.... Upon the near Approach of the Combined Fleet, two 18 pounders were spiked up and dismounted and the Royal Magazine was safely deposited in the Hold of the *Scammel.* The strictest Decorum was observed towards the Inhabitants and their Wearing Apparel and Household Furniture inviolably preserv'd for their Use.[1]

It is easy to imagine just how furious this performance must have made the commanders of several British frigates a few miles away, and how it must have shaken the faith of the people of Nova Scotia in England's ability to protect them.

There are many interesting episodes of the final months of the war, which was fought right out to the bitter end. Jonathan Haraden, now in the *Julius Caesar* loitering off Bermuda, fought a number of stubborn battles. The *Junius Brutus*, under John Brooks, which had sent nearly nine hundred tons of shipping to Salem, ended her long career as a captive in Newfoundland. The *Cato* was finally taken after many a well-fought fight. Other vessels lost were the *Languedoc*, *Jason*, *General Greene*, *Viper*, *Raven*, *Hyder Ali*, *Rattlesnake*, *Dolphin*, *Active*, *Adventure*, *Friendship*, *Lively*, *Speed*, *Speedwell*, and *Union*, and doubtless many more, of which the last eight were condemned at Halifax.[2]

The total number of different ships out during the war, including those from Beverly, must have been well over two hundred. Beverly claims seventy,[3] but many of these are much more justly claimed by Salem if one is to try to draw the line. Salem usually claims one hundred and fifty-eight,[4] so, allowing for joint claims, the total must be well over two hundred. They carried twenty-five hundred guns at least, and between seven and eight thousand men were required to man them. At no one time, however, were there more than eighty to one hundred ships out, with perhaps somewhat over three thousand men. What other town made such a contribution to the fighting force of the American Revolution?

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[1] *Boston Gazette*, July 15, 1782.

[2] *Vice-Admiralty Records*, E.I.H.C., XLV–XLVII.

[3] Howe: *Beverly Privateers*, *Col. Soc. Mass. Pub.*, XXIV, 420.

[4] Hunt: *American Merchants*, II, 49.

The results were commensurate with the effort. Though over a third of the privateers were captured or destroyed, they captured six or seven prizes for every privateer they lost, and about nine out of every ten prizes were safely landed. Jonathan Haraden alone is credited with capturing over one thousand guns from the enemy,[1] and with them must have come between two and three thousand prisoners. Few victories of the war could show such results for a captain and one hundred and fifty men. It would not be at all difficult to show that a dozen other captains each did over a quarter as much, and several of them would be very close behind Haraden. It still remains for somebody to dig the whole glorious record out of the prize court records in Bilboa, Martinico, and other places in France, Spain, and the West Indies, not to mention other American ports than those of Massachusetts. The records of good fights bravely lost will be found in the Vice-Admiralty Courts of Quebec, St. Johns, Newfoundland, and the ports of England.

No great fortunes were made from Revolutionary privateers. The Cabots and the Derbys were undoubtedly somewhat richer at the end of the war, but that was not the great gain. Privateering gave the people employment, relieved the economic scarcity of essential supplies, and provided the money to the whole group with which to pay the very heavy taxes. It gave an outlet for their combative spirits and maintained their interest in the fight. Had it not been for the privateers, unemployment, starvation, and a broken morale would have brought a demand for peace from the important seafaring towns.

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[1] Hunt: *American Merchants*, II, 41.

As Mr. Derby did the most of any man, perhaps it is right to end this story of the war with the final exploits of two of his ships. On March 12, 1783, Captain Pratt in the *Grand Turk* was standing on and off St. Kitts to see what he could find when a big ship of four hundred tons, the *Pompey* of London, came in view; Captain Pratt sent a shot across her bows and ordered her to heave to. She did, but when the boarding party arrived, the captain explained that peace had been signed before she left London. This was the first Captain Pratt had heard of it and he was skeptical. At any rate, a valuable cargo of provisions was greatly needed in Salem and he decided to let the Admiralty Court settle the matter; so away went the *Pompey* to Salem and was adjudged a lawful prize, because peace was not proclaimed here till twelve days after her capture. Sold at auction, she was bought by George Crowninshield and became the first of their three *Americas*.[1]

It will be remembered that John Derby took the first news of the outbreak of the Revolution to England just after the battle of Lexington. Curiously enough, John Derby brought the first news of peace back to America. In December, 1782, he had taken the letter-of-marque ship *Astrea* to France, making the trip to Nantes in eighteen days. As soon as peace preliminaries were signed, Captain Derby was eager to get away with the news. On March 12, he sailed, and in twenty-two days came into Salem.[2] A few days later, hostilities ceased and American ships were free to go where they pleased.

[1] R. E. Peabody: *Log of the Three Grand Turks*, 29.

[2] R. E. Peabody: *Merchant Venturers of Old Salem*, 49.

CHAPTER XXXII

WHY THE TOWN GREW AND SUCCEEDED

When we review the history of the town during the eighteenth century to seek out the causes of the growth in power and wealth, it is not possible to overlook the period which preceded it. Then was laid the foundation of a religion which demanded a strict individual responsibility of every person; there was originated a theory of political liberty which demanded that every community was entitled and obligated to manage its own affairs without either outside help or outside domination; there was also built up a social and industrial philosophy which demanded that every man should take care of himself, that those who did not work should not eat, and conversely, that those who worked hard and successfully should be protected to enjoy the fruits of their labor and their thrift.

In religion there was a gradual subsidence of the doctrine of the elect. It was too unreasonable to suppose that men were elected to salvation before they were born, and that nothing they could do would change their status. It must be true that men who lived upright and honorable lives could thereby attain to everlasting life; and although the clergy would not admit the change in most cases, yet there was a gradual swing toward the justification by works which came in with the next century. But this in no way relaxed the pressure on the individual. It held him up to a higher standard of conduct, if anything, than before. If the problem of salvation was put into each person's own hands, no one could hide behind the vain idea that he was elected to ultimate salvation and could therefore take a chance. But in either case, religious belief was the strong moving force, and no one was allowed to overlook the joys of an ultimate Heaven or the utter eternal torment of a real, personal Hell planned for his individual use.

Like it or not, religion was the potent force among these sturdy people, and it sent them to the Bible to study and learn the way of salvation. It is doubtful whether any people ever studied the Bible with the intensity and vigor of the old New Englanders. The thousands of old Bibles in the old families, thumbed and worn, bear eloquent testimony to the search for truth and guidance. The Bible was daily read at morning and evening prayers in every household. The children learned long passages and all the important moral precepts by heart. It was quoted and referred to, not only in the pulpit, but on every platform and by men in business and trade. It is probable that as ethical training this intensive use of the English Bible has never been improved upon; and the fact that it was carried right down to the lowest grade of society raised the tone of the whole people. Incidentally the splendidly clear and effective use of the English language of the men of our Revolution was due more than anything else to their perfect familiarity with the superb English of the King James Version.

In their political philosophy they were guided largely by their environment. It is true that by their first charter they had set up a commonwealth with practically independent power, affiliated with the British crown only by the fact that they were supposed to draw their power from that source; but they expected no help from an authority months away across a stormy ocean, and they got none. Likewise the central authority of the colony had little wealth or strength to hand down to the towns, and the towns had none to give to the individuals. Strength could come only from the individuals working together, so again you get back to the individual. No small group has much use for the individual who fails to do his full part, and that part, willing or not, he must do or be put outside the pale. But if he does his part, he has a right to be heard in the conduct of affairs in proportion to his contribution to the welfare of the whole. The responsibility and the consent of the governed went hand in hand. They grew up as inevitable rights based on the conditions which surrounded the people, in a vast and unfriendly wilderness that must be conquered and subdued if they were to live and thrive.

All this resulted in a very high grade of public service. The leading men in the community gave generously of their time and strength to public service, and served, not only without any direct compensation, but without any hope of any return to themselves except the respect and gratitude of their fellow-citizens. Every man whose ability made his services desirable expected to give long years of effort to the public and to receive no reward. This tradition of self-denying public service was the glory of New England, and still is. Our museums, educational institutions, and hospitals all bear eloquent testimony to years of faithful service by men who looked for no reward but the consciousness of duty well performed. This carried over into business; and the mutual benefit societies, mutual savings banks, and the really mutual insurance companies are an evidence of the high character of co-operative effort that can be evolved from a high type of individualism.

No course in citizenship has ever been planned that excelled the New England town meeting. In spite of the antics of the town clown, who has to be tolerated, in spite of foolish votes often passed over the wise protests of leading men, the people gain a definite knowledge of their town affairs. Whether they will admit it or not, they know when they have acted wisely and when they have acted foolishly, and as they grow in years they also grow in wisdom. They recognize which of their leaders are acting unselfishly and which have a trend toward their own interest. If leading men give a little of their time to help in public affairs and great patience to their less gifted neighbors, things can be guided. The foolish and stupid can be controlled, and the grafter has great difficulties in hiding his peculations from even a small group of fearless honest men. Even the attempt, so popular nowadays, to take away one man's property and give it to another by legislation is less popular when both parties to the transaction are in the same hall; for every man knows in his heart that a man is entitled to the fruits of his labor, whether those fruits be great or small. It is embarrassing to discuss robbing a man you know and probably respect, before his face. It is a great deal more heroic to denounce the sins of some impossible bugaboo to a yelling mob of morons. The town meeting reduced all questions to lowest terms. It put all problems in terms that the dullest intellect could grasp, and that is why the great problems of the Revolution carried the masses of the people along with them, and why democracy was most real in the sections of the country where the free open town meeting prevailed, and why, where centralized government creeps in and, under the guise of physical benefits, destroys local self-government, however bad, eventual tyranny and loss of personal freedom, crippling taxation, and class domination are the result. That early governor of New Zealand, who remarked that the worst government in New Zealand itself could govern the colony better than the best government in far-away England, spoke an eternal truth.

The social philosophy of Salem, like that of all New England, was based on the tenets of Benjamin Franklin, which in turn had their roots in the religious life of the people. There was a feeling thoroughly instilled into the community that idleness was a curse and work was a virtue, well explained by the old adage that 'Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do,' or, on its more constructive side, by the couplet,

Early to bed, early to rise,
Makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise.

From earliest childhood, children were taught to employ their idle moments, till the whole body politic felt it was a sin to be idle. There was a strong urge to employ every waking moment. It irritated the old New Englander brought up in this stiff school to see a person idling away his time. In the old New England towns the girls spun and wove, knitted and cooked. They made butter and cheese, soap and candles. All the mincemeat for the immemorial pies and all the sausages were made in the household. Summer was dedicated to the making of jellies and preserves for the winter. Apples were dried, and also preserved as apple sauce. All the clothes were made in the household, and much fine needlework and embroidery was done, though it is a miracle that they ever found time to do it.

It was the duty of the men to supply the raw materials. They raised the crops and got them into the barns and storehouses, fed the cattle, and milked the cows. They sheared the sheep and killed the cattle, sheep, and hogs. They threshed out the grain and, if possible, took it to the local grist mill to be ground. The hides went to the local tannery, and the wool to the local carding mill to be washed and carded. Wood had to be cut and split, and was hauled home to be laboriously sawed for the fire with the toilsome bucksaw. Cider was made at home or at the local cider mill. Pork was salted and put away, while bacon and ham were cured and then hung in the big chimney to smoke. Many a farm had a little shoeshop where shoes were made by the men and boys on stormy winter days. Baskets and pails and other woodenware were laboriously turned out.

Thrift was a prime virtue of old New Englanders, and not only money but every scrap of anything which could be of value was sacred on the ground that 'it might come handy,' and it often did. Nails and bits of iron, old hinges, string, old buckles, almost anything could be found in the scrap boxes in the shed or the woodhouse. Nothing was bought for which a substitute could be found in the scrap box, and wood was used in many places where iron would have seemed more suitable; but wood was cheap and accessible, while iron was mostly brought from overseas. That is the meaning of the wooden locks and wooden hinges, wooden rakes, and even wooden plows. This saving in material things all worked back into a saving in cash, and made the people wealthy and prosperous.

This pressure for thrift forced an intensive industry and inventiveness. Work was regarded as immaterial if thereby a saving in cash expenditure could be effected, and the pressure to produce a substitute near at hand for expensive importations brought in a high degree of creative inventiveness. The necessity for endless toil to accomplish these objects resulted, on the one hand, in the production of inventions and machines to do the work more easily, and on the other, in an efficiency of hand and head which allowed no waste of human effort which could be avoided. The man who used his brains to save himself unnecessary work won out in the long run, and the old saying, 'Let your head save your heels,' summed it up pretty aptly.

Yet in spite of all, the labor was tremendous in preparing the country for habitation. It has been estimated that there were a hundred thousand miles of stone walls in New England before we began to use them to build roads with. As most of these walls were built between 1650 and 1850, this work alone was stupendous. It meant that the people built a four-foot wall as long as from Boston to Buffalo every year for two hundred years. Yet this was but a by-product of clearing the land and building their houses while they earned their daily bread and clothed and warmed themselves.

All of this training produced a people clean in body and mind, self-confident, fearless, and capable, but it also built up a culture which is not to be despised. They soon rejected the many-gabled house of Old England, ill adapted to the snows of a New England winter, for the square old farmhouse with utmost simplicity of design, but with a dignity of proportion and adaptation to its surroundings which make it a work of art today. Then followed the gambrel-roofed house, more ornamental in the exterior, and then the hip-roofed square colonial mansion of just before the Revolution, all in such superb good taste that they do not today look out of style, while many of their nineteenth- and twentieth-century successors are nightmares. The late colonial architecture is one of the best records of the dignity of life and restraint that characterized that generation.

Our modern city planners have got a long way to go to exceed the beauty of many of the village greens of New England. The white church with its very beautiful and classic belfry, the irregular group of white houses lined up around these greens, give an impressive detailed beauty hard to excel. The location of some of the old farmhouses is almost ideal from an esthetic standpoint. These people had a genius for selecting locations. There is one old farmhouse within what was then the limits of Salem which exemplifies this exactly. It is set on a broad shelf on the side of a hill, with its barns and sheds running out on one side and a wellsweep on the other. The hill covered with dark pines runs up behind it, throwing its white paint and big square chimneys out into bold relief. In front the grassy ground slopes gently away to the road, with an irregular cart track across it, and is shut off on either side by stone walls which close in the pastures. Unconsciously these men did the tasteful thing, though if any psychoanalyst had asked why they planned it as they did and not some other way, they probably would not have got beyond explaining that 'it would not have looked right.' All unconsciously and even violently rejecting the idea, they cared a lot for beauty; they did the right thing.

The furniture of the earlier period was rough and crude in many particulars, but it showed a stalwart adaptability to the needs of the people, and the benches, settles, and cupboards, not to mention the shoemakers' benches, spinning-wheels, and clock reels, all were firmly built, of good proportion, and never unnecessarily clumsy.

After 1750, the furniture is exquisite in design and marvelous for the accuracy of its workmanship. Not a little of the furniture which is found in Southern cities like Charleston and Norfolk, and was formerly to be found in the plantations of the West Indies, was made in Salem of Santo Domingo mahogany and sent away in the ships; but by far the greater portion was absorbed in the growing luxury of the New England homes, and is still admired in those homes today.

The New England shipbuilders also had acquired a reputation the world round, and their ships had a ready sale in Spain, Portugal, and the West Indies. Sloops and schooners, with an ability to go to windward not known in square-rigged vessels, had been developed here. The workmen who built these ships were skilled craftsmen; they did an honest day's work, and were proud of their accomplishments. It is an interesting fact that many times when building was dull, a number of ship carpenters clubbed together, secured the necessary materials, and built a ship which they sold when finished. That is the sort of initiative and co-operation that a country needs.

All told, New Englanders (and Salem had an excellent sample of them) were a brainy, energetic, and efficient race. They knew what they wanted and they knew how to set about to get it. Obstacles meant very little to them. 'Where there is a will, there is a way,' was a favorite motto, and their tireless energy never waited long to find it. 'Never put off till tomorrow what can be done today' was not a prescription for the shiftless and the lazy. A planned efficiency for the town, the household, and the individual was thoroughly worked out, but it was all based on the efficiency of the individual. All farms and households worked on the principle of 'having a place for everything and putting everything in its place.' Anyone who has seen a good housewife at work realizes what efficiency means. She has used perhaps half of her equipment of utensils and boxes of spices, etc., but each has been used rapidly, cleaned if necessary, and restored to its place, so that by the time dinner is ready, little is left to clear up. The farmer starting out from the barn thought of all the tools he wanted for the day, knew just where to find them and was fully equipped to the last monkey wrench when he went to the field, and did not have to waste twenty minutes walking back for something (as the modern plumber does at your expense). The fishing and the trade bristled with this same efficiency. The old trick of unbending the new strong sails and putting on old rotten ones as soon as they reached the zone of the gentle trade winds was one example of nautical thrift.

Thus, the whole philosophy for life was summed up in industry, thrift, and efficiency. Waste no time; time was the most precious of commodities; make every minute count. That was how they accomplished so much. Waste nothing, use everything up before you replace it, and find a use and a value for everything. What we give the high-sounding name of 'utilization of by-products' was a commonplace to these folk, as for instance the famous rag rugs. And finally efficiency: do things in the easiest, quickest, and simplest way, all summed up in the remark, 'There is no waste motion about that young person.'

THE END

Appendices

APPENDIX A

LIST OF WORKS CONSULTED

This list gives most of the books and other material from which this history has been drawn. It has been made rather full in the hope that it may interest others to examine some of the vast store of information available about the city especially in the Essex Institute Historical Collections.

GENERAL WORKS

Thomas Hutchinson: *History of Massachusetts*, 3d edition. Vols. 1 and 2, 1795; vol. 3, 1828.
John Fiske: *Beginnings of New England.*
John Fiske: *New France and New England.*
Francis Parkman: *Frontenac and New France.*
Francis Parkman: *Montcalm and Wolfe.*
Francis Parkman: *Half Century of Conflict.*
J. G. Palfrey: *History of New England*, 5 vols.
William Hubbard: *General History of New England.*
Daniel Neal: *History of New England.*
Cotton Mather: *Magnalia Christi Americana.*
G. R. Minot: *Continuation of the History of Massachusetts Bay from 1748* (to 1798).
George Bancroft: *History of the United States.*
Allen French: *First Year of the American Revolution.*
Allen French: *General Gage's Informers.*
Allen French: *A British Fusilier in Revolutionary Boston.*
G. F. Dow, editor: *Two Centuries of Travel in Essex County.*
G. F. Dow and J. H. Edmonds: *Pirates of the New England Coast.*
Adam Smith: *Wealth of Nations.*
Josiah Child: *Discourse on Trade.*
Howard Robinson: *Development of the British Empire.*
D. A. White: *New England Congregationalism.*
Jonathan Edwards: *Works.*
Samuel G. Drake: *French and Indian Wars.*
William Shirley: *Memoir of the Late War.*
Thomas Prince: *Extraordinary Events.*
Samuel Penhallow: *Indian Wars.*

John Norton: *The Redeemed Captive.*

E. S. Maclay: *A History of American Privateers*, N.Y., 1899.

E. S. Maclay: *A History of the United States Navy*, N.Y., 1901.

G. W. Allen: *A Naval History of the American Revolution*, Boston, 1913.

G. W. Allen: *Massachusetts Privateers of the Revolution*, Mass. Hist. Soc. Pub. No. 77.

O. T. Howe: *Beverly Privateers in the Revolution.* Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, vol. 24.

O. T. Howe: *Log of the Pilgrim*, *ibid.*, vol. 25.

R. E. Peabody: *Log of the Three Grand Turks*, Boston, 1926.

R. E. Peabody: *Merchant Venturers of Old Salem*, Boston, 1912.

George F. Emmons: *Navy of the United States*, Washington, 1853.

Charles H. Lincoln: *Naval Records of the American Revolution*, Washington, 1906.

Journal found on Ship Hunter, Historical Mag., Feb. 1864.

BIOGRAPHIES AND DIARIES

Francis Bowen: *Life of Sir William Phips* in Sparks: *American Biography*, VII, 3–104.

Diaries of Benjamin Lynde and Benjamin Lynde, Jr., Boston, 1880.

F. A. Gardner: *The Gardner Memorial.*

O. Pickering: *Life of Timothy Pickering*, Boston, 1867.

Nathaniel Uring: *Voyages and Travels.*

William Bentley: *Diary*, 4 vols.

Memoir of Edward Augustus Holyoke.

G. F. Dow: *Diary and Letters of Benjamin Pickman.*

Usher Parsons: *Life of Sir William Pepperell.*

Journal of Sir William Pepperrell in American Antiquarian Society Proceedings, new series, XX, 143.

George Whitefield: *Journal*

Holyoke Diaries.

Franklin B. Hough: *Journals of Major Robert Rogers.*

Col. David Humphreys: *Essay on Israel Putnam.*

Caleb Stark: *Reminiscences of the French War and Memoir of Major General John Stark.*

William Cutter: *Life of Israel Putnam.*
Freeman Hunt: *American Merchants*, 2 vols.
J. D. Phillips: *Richard Derby.*
John Rowe: *Letters and Diary.*
Samuel Curwen: *Journal and Letters.*
John Adams: *Diary.*
William Pynchon: *Diary.*
Lorenzo Sabine: *American Loyalists.*
E. Alfred Jones: *Loyalists of Massachusetts.*
William Bentley: *Diary*, 4 vols.
William Tudor: *Life of James Otis.*
Appleton Memorials.
Gilbert Nash: *Life of Gen. Solomon Lovell and his original Journal*, Weymouth Historical Society, I, 55.
James A. Thompson: *Count Rumford of Massachusetts.*

TOWN HISTORIES AND LOCAL MATERIAL

Thomas Gage: *History of Rowley*, 1840.
Abiel Abbot: *History of Andover*, 1829.
John J. Currier: *Ould Newbury.*
Joseph B. Felt: *Annals of Salem*, 1st edition, 1827, arranged chronologically.
Joseph B. Felt: *Annals of Salem*, 2d edition, vol. I, 1842; vol. II, 1849, arranged topically.
Sidney Perley: *History of Salem*, 3 vols., 1924.
E. M. Stone: *History of Beverly*, 1843.
William Willis: *History of Portland*, 1865.
G. A. Wheeler: *History of Castine*, 1875.
Ralph D. Paine: *Ships and Shipmasters of Salem.*
Joshua Coffin: *History of Newbury*, 1845.
Joseph B. Felt: *History of Ipswich.*
J. F. Waters: *Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony.*
George W. Chase: *History of Haverhill*, 1861.
C. W. Upham: *Sermon Preached Nov. 16, 1826, at the Dedication of the First Church, Salem, 1826.*
Narrative of the Controversy in the First Church.
Proceedings of the Council at Salem.
Faithful Narrative of the Ecclesiastical Council at Salem, 1734.
John J. Babson: *History of Gloucester*, 1860.

Samuel Rhodes: *History of Marblehead*, 1897.
T. W. Hanson: *History of Danvers*, 1848.
H. S. Tapley: *Chronicles of Danvers.*
H. S. Tapley: *Salem Imprints*, 1927.
Early Coastwise and Foreign Shipping of Salem, 1750–69.
Laws of the Salem Marine Society with List of Members, 1923.
The Putnam Club: *Sketches about Salem People*, 1930.

PAPERS IN ESSEX INSTITUTE HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

Letter of Rev. John Higginson, XLIII, 182.
M. B. Jones: *Thomas Maule*, LXXII, 7.
Will of Ann Bradstreet, with valuable biographical notes of the legatees, IV, 185.
George F. Cheever: *Commerce of Salem*, I, 67 *et seq.*
James Kimball: *Gleanings from the files of the Court of General Sessions*, XI, 74, 235.
H. F. Waters: *Gedney and Clarke Families*, XVI, 241.
A. C. Goodell: *Biographical Notices of the Officers of Probate of Essex County*, II, 157 *et seq.*
G. L. Streeter: *Historic Streets of Salem*, XXXVI, 185.
G. A. Moriarty: *Turner Family of Salem*, XLVIII, 263.
Essex County Notarial Records, XLI, 183 *et seq.*
H. S. Tapley: *The Province Galley of Massachusetts*, LVIII, 73.
Benjamin Pickman: *Account of Houses and other Buildings in Salem* in 1793, VI, 93.
W. A. Pew: *Bible Commonwealth in Massachusetts*, LXVI, 225.
Rev. John Higginson: *Advice to his Children*, II, 97.
Col. John Higginson: *Confession of Faith*, VI, 255.
Book of Records for Masters, I, 169.
Letter of Samuel Browne, I, 66.
James Jeffrey: *Interleaved Almanac*, II, 65; XXXVI, 331.
Joshua Coffin: *Papers*, XXXV, 150.
Captain George Curwen: *Letters*, III, 188.
Robert S. Rantoul: *The Pickman Silver*, XXXIX, 97.
George D. Phippen: *The Old Planters*, I, 148.
Thomas H. Billings: *The Great Awakening*, LXV, 102.
Colonel William Browne House, LXXII, 283.
Robert S. Rantoul: *A Stately Pleasure House*, XXXI, 212.

Ezra Hines: *Browne Hill*, XXXII, 218.
G. F. Dow: *French Acadians in Essex County*, XLV, 293.
M. A. Stickney: *Massacre at Fort William Henry*, III, 83.
Rev. John Cleveland: *Journal*, 1758, XII, 85.
Rev. Daniel Shute: *Journal*, 1758, XII, 132.
Dr. Caleb Rea: *Journal*, 1758, XVIII, 81.
Gibson Clough: *Journal at Louisburg*, 1759–60, III, 99.
Lemuel Wood: *Journal in Canada Expedition*, 1759, XIX, 61.
Major Thompson Maxwell: *Narrative*, 1760, VII, 97.
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APPENDIX B

A LIST OF THE SELECTMEN OF SALEM FROM 1700 TO 1783

This list is copied from the town records and gives the names as they appear for the first time with the year of their first appearance. The names of men who appear for several years are not repeated nor are the titles under which they are shown in subsequent years given. Both the spelling of the names and the titles are those of the first entry. At first there were seven chosen but later only five each year. Many men held on from year to year or were reelected after dropping out for a few years. The object of the list is to show the different men who served the town during the period covered.

There are a variety of Town Record Books in some cases covering the same periods. There are seven different books before the Revolution: 1679–1728; 1694–1709; 1709–1725; 1725–1743; Punchard's copy 1742–1773; 1774–1788; 1733–1748, Part I and Part II. The years January, 1760–May, 1764, are missing from all the books. The various records do not always agree.

SELECTMEN OF SALEM

1700–1783

1700 m^{r} Josiah Woolcot
m^{r} Phillip English
m^{r} Dan^{ll} Andrew
m^{r} Edward Flint
m^{r} Jeremiah Neale
m^{r} Jos^{r} Putnam
m^{r} Peter Osgood
1701 M^{r} W^{m} Hirst
major Stephen Sewall
Cap^{t} Sam^{ll} Gardner
Cap^{t} Sam^{ll} Browne
m^{r} Joseph Herrick
Dan^{ll} Epes
1702 M^{r} Jonathan Putnam
m^{r} Jn^{o} Higginson 3^{tius}
1704 Cap^{t} Walter Price
1705 Cap^{t} Jn^{o} Browne
Cap^{t} Jn^{o} Turner
1706 Cap^{t} Tho. Flint
L^{t} Benj^{a} Putnam
1708 Cap^{t} John Gardner
1709 m^{r} Joseph Orne
m^{r} Jn^{o} Pickering
1710 m^{r} William Gedney
m^{r} James Lindall
m^{r} John Traske Sen^{r}
1711 Benjamin Lynde Esq^{r}
M^{r} Francis Willoughby
1712 M^{r} Abell Gardner
1713 Cap^{t} W^{m} Pickering

1714 m^{r} James Houlton
1715 M^{r} Phillip Pickering
1716 M^{r} Samuel Ruck
Thomas Barton
1717 Cap^{t} Will^{m} Bowditch
M^{r} Jacob Manning
Benj^{a} Flint
1718 M^{r} Benj^{a} Gerrish
1721 M^{r} Josiah Willard
1722 L^{t} Thomas Fuller
1723 M^{r} Joseph Orne jun^{r}
1726 M^{r} Thorndike Procter Sen^{r}
1727 M^{r} Ichabod Plaisted
1728 Cap^{t} Samuel Barnard
M^{r} Miles Ward
1731 Cap^{t} Samuel King
1732 M^{r} John Preston
M^{r} Sam^{l} Flint
1734 M^{r} Edw^{d} Kitchen
M^{r} Israel Andrew
1735 m^{r} Jn^{o} Turner Jun^{r}
1736 m^{r} Sam^{ll} Barton
1737 Joshua Hicks
Samuel Endicott
1738 M^{r} Rich^{d} Elvins
M^{r} W^{m} Lynde
1739 Doct^{r} Cabot
Cap^{t} Benj^{a} Pickman
Cap^{t} Benj^{a} Ives
1740 M^{r} Ebenezer Moulton
M^{r} Danneil Marble
M^{r} Sam^{ll} West
Ezekiel Marsh
Cap^{t} John Leach
1741 Benj^{a} Browne Esq^{r}
M^{r} Thorndike Procter jun^{r}
Cap^{t} John Clarke
1744 Cap^{t} Nath^{l} Andrew
M^{r} Stephen Putnam
1745 M^{r} James Putnam
M^{r} William Porter
1746 M^{r} Thomas Lee
Cap^{t} Jon^{a} Gardner
1747 James Jeffry Jun^{r}
1748 M^{r} John Procter Jun^{r}
M^{r} Eben^{r} Trask
Abraham Watson
John Nutting
1749 Warwick Palfray
Samuel Holten
1751 No record of the election of selectmen this year
1752 Joseph Bowditch Esq^{r}
1754 Joshua Ward
Timothy Orne
Nath^{l} Ropes
1755 Stephen Higginson
1758 M^{r} Benj^{a} Goodhue
m^{r} Benj^{a} Herbert
M^{r} Jon^{a} Ropes Jun^{r}
1759 Peter Frye
M^{r} John Nutting Jun^{r}
m^{r} Francis Cabot
1760–63 These records are missing
1764 Sam^{l} Curwen
W^{m} Browne Esq^{r}
M^{r} Joseph Blaney
Richard Derby Jun^{r}
Rich^{d} Lee
1765 M^{r} Samuel Barton jun^{r}
M^{r} John White jun^{r}
1766 Jon^{a} Gardner jun^{r}
Jeremiah Hacker
1767 M^{r} Benj^{a} Pickman jun^{r}
Deacon David Phippen
1769 George Williams
Jacob Ashton
Elias Hasket Derby
Cap^{t} George Dodge
1770 John Felt
1772 John Gardner 3^{d}
Timothy Pickering jun^{r}
1774 William Pickman
William Northey
Richard Ward
1775 John Hodges
Ebenezer Beckford
Joseph Sprague

Jonathan Bancroft
Jonathan Peele jun^{r}
1779 Edward Norris
1780 Miles Greenwood
John Norris
Peter Lander
John Buffinton
1781 Cap^{t} Sam^{l} Flagg
Cap^{t} John Fisk
Cap^{t} Jon^{a} Ingersoll
M^{r} Jerathmel Pierce
1782 William West
John Appleton
Francis Cabot jun^{r}
Jonathan Waldo
1783 W^{m} Gray 3^{d}

APPENDIX C

SHIPS BUILT IN SALEM FROM 1694 TO 1714

THE following figures of shipbuilding in Salem copied from Hall's Shipbuilding in the Census of 1880 but derived from the Massachusetts Archives shows the importance of the industry. The figures show the total number of each type of vessel and the total tonnage of each class by years 1694–1714.

Built in Salem	*Sloops*	*Ketches*	*Brigantines*	*Barks*	*Ship*
1694	2–50	1–30	3–140	1–60	1–80
1695	3–70	1–40	1–20	..	..
1696	1–25	2–50	..	..	..
1697	2–45	1–40	..	..	1–200
1698	2–60	4–130	..	..	1–60
1699	..	9–275	..	1–80	1–60
1700	..	10–310	..	..	1–130
1701	3–76	4–140	..	..	..
1702	1–16	3–75	1–45	..	1–70
1703	2–52	2–40	..	..	1–150
1704	1–30	1–20	..	..	2–250
1705	1–25	..	..	..	4–620
1706	3–101	..	4–180	..	..
1707	1–15	1–25	1–50	..	4–770
1708	..	..	1–65	1–60	2–260
1709	2–55	..	1–95	1–65	4–500
1710	3–90	..	2–150	..	..
1711	2–80	..	1–55	..	2–170
1712	4–170	..	..	..	1–150
1713	1–30	..	..	..	..
1714	..	..	..	..	1–90

APPENDIX D

LESLIE'S RETREAT FROM NORTH BRIDGE

The account in the text is an attempt to give all the picturesque facts about the affair at the bridge which seem to be authenticated by contemporary or near contemporary accounts. Little if any of the evidence seems to me directly contradictory. Each witness has perhaps exaggerated the evidence of his hero a little but it seems to me doubtful to say that there is not some ground for each statement. It is far harder to invent an episode that never happened than to embroider on one that did. I have tried to put them in proper proportion.

An account appeared in the *Essex Gazette*, February 28, 1775, said to have been written by Pickering with a further vindication by the same pen, March 7, 1775. (See also O. Pickering: *Life of Timothy Pickering*, I, 60–68, and E.I.H.C., XXXVIII, 328–33.) This account mentions no names evidently for fear of incriminating somebody. The *Diary of Ezra Stiles*, I, 522–24, written at the time, but by a Newport author, gives an account of the affair and a map, but he was a long distance off and had only hearsay evidence.

About 1825 or 1830 somebody took pains to collect from men then living, or the children of such men, all they knew of the affair and such accounts are:

William Gavett's account, with what he remembered his father told him. In *E. I. Proceedings*, I, 126. He was ten years old at the time.

Samuel Gray's account. Gray was ten years old at the time. In *E. I. Proceedings*, I, 129.

Abijah Northey's account of what his father had told him. In *E. I. Proceedings*, I, 130.

Samuel Holman's statement, *E. I. Proceedings*, I, 130.

Susan Smith's memoir of Colonel David Mason containing her recollections of the event, E.I.H.C., XLVIII, 205–07, originally published in the *Boston Centinel*, September 19, 1794.

Madam Story's account of her father Major Pedrick's ride, written for her grandchildren in 1824, in E.I.H.C., XVII, 190–92. She was a young lady at the time.

William Gallison's letter about the Amesbury minute men, E.I.H.C., I, 2.

Of the later accounts of the episode, that by Charles M. Endicott in *E. I. Proceedings*, I, 89–122, is probably the fullest and best, and the appendix to it gives most of the source material in full on pages 122–35. An account, unsigned, in the E.I.H.C., XXXVIII, 321–52, gives a good story of Leslie's regiment, Bridgman's picture and portraits of the chief actors. A biographical note about them is on page 352. This also contains quotations from English magazines and histories about the affair.

Other accounts are in Felt, 2d, II, 514–19; Osgood and Batchelder's *Sketch of Salem*, 47–49; Robert S. Rantoul, E.I.H.C., XXXII, 11–13; *Life of Timothy Pickering*, by O. Pickering, I, 60–68; Samuel Swett, Esq., *Boston Daily Advertiser*, January to April, 1848.

APPENDIX E

SALEM VALUATION IN 1784[1]

646 dwelling houses	£11. 0. 0	7106
183 Shops seperate or adjoining	3.10. 0	640.10 –
10 Tan houses & Slaughter houses	4. 0. 0	40. 0 –
2 Rope Walks	12. 0. 0	24. 0 –
41 Ware houses	8. 0. 0	328. 0 –
276 Barns	1. 5. 0	345. 0 –
4 Mills	5. 0. 0	20. 0 –
96 Buildings of £5 Value	. 5. 0	24. 0 –
50.900 Superficial feet Wharf a 35/ pm	.15. 0	99. 1.0
8.652 Tuns of Vessels	. 2.10	1243.14.6
299 Acres Tillage	.17. 0	254. 3.–
434 D° of English mowing	1. 1. 0	455.14 –
37 D° of fresh meadow	. 6. 0	11. 2.2
123 D° Salt Mash	. 8. 0	49. 4 –
2873 D° Pasturage	. 3. 4	478.16.8
93 Swine	. 9. 0	3. 9.9
3131 Owners Plate	6. 8	62. 2.4
£31.295-6-3 Debt due at 6 p^r Cent		1877.14.4
£4637.13.4 Money on hand at 6 p^r Cent		278. 5.2
£70.373 Stock in trade a 6 p^r Cent		4222. 7.7
196 Horses	6. 0	58.16.0
4 Colts	4. 2¼	.16.9
47 Oxen	5. 4¾	12.13.7
7 Neat Cattle 3 years old	3. 7.	1. 5.1
17 D° 2 years old	2. 3.	2. 8.0
11 D° 1 D°	1. 2	.13 –
325 Cows 4 D°	3. 7	58. 4.7
51 Sheep		
5 Distill houses	35.	175. —
		17,872.14.8
Added to the above sum		£ 300. 0.0
		£18,172.14.8

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[1] From a sheet in volume called Salem M.S. miscellaneous in Essex Institute. This does not indicate that Salem merchants made vast fortunes by privateering.

INDEX TO THE MAP OF SALEM ABOUT 1780

ALL names given on the map are listed with a reference to the squares where the letters and numbers on the margin of the map intersect. There is only one reference where the same name occurs more than once in the same square. The words 'Estate of' have been omitted as unnecessary. Streets are indexed by the present names under 'Streets'; the word 'see' here refers to the map. Where names extend over more than one square, they are indexed where they will most easily catch the eye on the map. There are 258 names of persons in all.

Allen, Robert, D 4
Almshouses:
  New, E 3
  Old, B 4
Andrew, John, D 4, F 3
Andrew, Jonathan, E 3, E 4, F 3
Andrews, Capt. Nehemiah, D 4
Appleton, John, C 3
Appleton, Mr., D 3
Archer, Capt. James, E 4
Archer, Nathaniel, E 4
Archer, Samuel, A 2
Archer, Sarah, F 3
Archer, William, C 3
Ashton, Jacob, D 3
Assembly Hall: B 3
Atkinson, Mary, C 4

Bacon, Samuel, C 4
Barnard, Thomas, A 3
Barnes, Major Thomas, E 3
Barras, Peter, E 3
Bartlet, Walter Price, D 4
Barton, Widow, C 3
Beadle, Mercy, F 5
Becket, Capt. John, F 5
Becket, John, Jr., F 4
Blanchard, Mr., A 2
Blaney, Joseph, C 4
Bowditch, Ebenezer, A 2
Bowditch, Joseph, D 4
Bray, Benjamin, D 4
Bray, John, E 4
Breck, C 4
Bridges:
  Mill, C 5
  North, C 2
  Ruck's, C 4
Briggs, Thomas, E 3
Broadfield: A 5
Brown, Benjamin, F 4
Brown, John, B 3, D 3
Brown, Mrs., C 3
Brown, Sarah, E 4
Browne, John, E 5
Browne, William, C 4
Browne's Cove: D 5
Buffum, Jonathan, A 3
Buffum's Hill: C 1
Burrill, Ebenezer, C 3
Burrill, Mr. Ezra, A 2
Burying Places:
  Burying Hill, B 4
  Burying Place, D 4
  Quaker, A 3
Burying Point: C 4

Cabot, Francis, C 3
Cabot, William, C 3
Carlton, William, D 4
Cemeteries: (See 'Burying Places')
Chadwick, D 4
Chandler, William, C 3
Chapman, Benjamin, B 3
Chapman, Isaac, B 4
Chase, D 3
Chase, Philip, A 2
Chase, Widow, C 3
Cheever, Benjamin, E 3
Cheever, James, E 4
Cheever, Samuel, E 3
Churches: (See 'Meeting Houses')
Clark, Mrs., A 2
Clarke, Widow, C 3
Clough, Susanna, E 5
Cloutman, John, C 3
Collins, Widow Sarah, C 4
Commons:
  Main, E 3
  Old, B 4
  Pasture, A 4
Cook, Isaac, B 3
Court House: C 4
Coves:
  Browne's, D 5
  Hodges', F 3
  Ingalls', C 4
  Shallop, F 3
  Town House, C 4
Creeks:
  Ruck's, C 4
Crowninshield, Anstice, D 3
Crowninshield, Clifford, F 4
Crowninshield, Mary, E 4
Curwen, Capt. George, Widow of, C 3
Curwen, Samuel, C 3

Daland, D 3
Daniels, William, B 4
Dean, A 3
Derby, Elias Haskett, E 5
Derby, John, D 4
Derby, Richard, B 3, E 5, F 2, F 4
Derby Wharf: E 5
Distillery: Major Sprague's, C 2
Dodge, Capt. George, D 4
Dodge, Israel, C 3

East Meeting House: F 4
Edwards, John, D 4
Estes, Capt. Abijah, D 3

Fabens, James, A 3
Felt, Benjamin, C 4
Felt, Capt. John, C 3
Field:
  Broad, A 5
  Richard Derby's, F 2
  Col. Benjamin Pickman's, F 3
Fields:
  North, C 1
  South, C 6
Fire, Great: A 1
First Meeting House: C 4
Flake Yard: C 2
Foot, Samuel, E 5
Foster, Robert, C 1
Fowler, Ezekiel, A 3
Fowler, Thomas, D 3
Frye, Frederick, C 3

Gale, Samuel, D 4
Gardner, Capt. John, D 4
Gardner, Capt. Jonathan, D 4
Gardner, Weld, C 3
Gavet, Joseph, C 3
Gilford, Abigail, D 4
Gillingham, Hannah, C 3
Gilpin, Thomas, D 4
Goodhue, William, D 4
Grafton, Anna, D 4
Grafton, Mary, D 4
Grafton, Susanna, D 4
Grammar School House: D 3

Granary: C 5
Gray, Edward, III, D 3
Gray, William, C 4

Hale, John, D 4
Hanscom, James, E 4
Hathorne, Capt. Daniel, E 4
Hathorne, Major John, C 3
Hathorne, Mary, B 3
Hathorne, Capt. William, C 3
Hathorne, William, B 3
Henfield, Joseph, C 4
Henfield, Widow, C 4
Hersey, D 4
Hill, John, E 5
Hilliard, David, F 4
Hills:
  Buffum's, C 1
  Odell's, C 2
Hodges' Cove: F 3
Hodges, Hannah, F 3
Hodges, John, F 4
Hodges, Mary, F 3
Hodges, Widow Priscilla, D 3
Holman, Gabriel, B 3
Holman, Deacon Samuel, B 3
Holyoke, Dr. E. A., C 4
Hooper, James, D 3
Hunt, William, C 3

Ingalls' Cove: C 4
Ingersoll, Samuel, F 4

Jail, Town of Salem: D 3
Jeffry, Ruth, C 3
Jeggles' Island: D 5
Jenks, Daniel, A 2
Jennison, John, B 3
Jones, John, B 3
Joseph, Francis, B 4

Kempton, John, A 3
Killings, Edward, C 3
Kimball, Sarah, D 4
King, Benjamin, A 2
King, William, C 4
Knight, Capt. Nathaniel, E 4

Lambert, Capt. Jonathan, C 3
Lambert, Jonathan, F 4
Landers, Capt. Peter, D 4
Lang, Ned, D 4
Lang, William, A 2
Lawrence, James, B 3
Lemmon, Sarah, E 2
Lindall, Elizabeth, C 3
Lindall, Mary, C 3
Long Wharf: D 5
Luscomb, Samuel, B 4
Luscomb, William, C 4
Lynde, Hon. Benjamin, C 3, D 4

Magraw, John, E 5
Malloon, Daniel, C 5
Malloon's Mills: C 5
Mansfield, Benjamin, E 4
Mansfield, Jonathan, C 4
Mansfield, William, E 5
Marston, Capt. William, C 4
Mason, Jonathan, E 3
Mason, Capt. Thomas, D 4
Masury, Capt. David, C 3
Meeting Houses:
  East Meeting House, F 4
  First Meeting House, C 4
  North Meeting House, C 3
  Quaker Meeting House, A 3
  St. Peter's Church, D 3
  Second Meeting House, F 4
  Tabernacle, C 3
  Third Meeting House, A 2
Metcalf, Joseph, A 3
Mill Bridge: C 5
Millet, Jonathan, E 4
Mills:
  Malloon's, C 5
  Scythe, C 5
Moses, Capt. Eleazer, D 3

Mulliken, B 1
Murray, Jonathan, F 4
Murray, Samuel, F 4

Neal, David A., C 4
Neale, David, B 3
Neale, Jonathan, B 4
Needham, Edmund, A 3
Newhall, Thomas, B 1
Norris, Edward, B 1
Norris, John, C 3
Norris, Widow, C 3
North Bridge: C 2
Northey, Abijah, C 3
Northey, William, B 1
North Fields: C 1
North Meeting House: C 3
North River: D 2
Notary Publick: (See Norris, Edward), B 1

Odell, James, A 3
Odell's Hill: C 2
Orne, Capt. Josiah, C 3
Orne, Samuel, C 3, D 3
Orne, Timothy, C 3
Orne, Capt. William, C 4
Osgood, Joseph, Jr., A 2
Osgood, Nathaniel, D 4

Palfrey, Deborah, D 3
Palfrey's Cove: E 5
Palfrey, Walter, Jr., E 5
Palfrey, Warwick, E 4, E 5
Pasture: A 4
Patterson, William, E 4
Peabody, Capt. Joseph, D 4
Pease, John, B 4
Peele, Robert, B 1
Peters, John, F 1
Phippen, Joseph, E 4
Phippen, Capt. Nathaniel, D 4
Phippen, Thomas, D 4
Pickering, James, A 4
Pickering, John, B 4
Pickering, Joseph, A 4
Pickering, Col. Timothy, B 3
Pickering, William, A 4
Pickman, Col. Benjamin, D 4, F 3
Pickman, Mrs. Benjamin, D 4
Pickman, Clarke Gayton, C 3
Pike, Richard, B 3
Points:
  Burying, C 4
  Stage, D 6
  Virgin, F 3
Ponds:
  Cheever's, E 4
  Flag, E 4
  Mason's, E 4
  Southwick's, E 4
Pope, Folger, B 1
Pope, James, A 2
Postmaster: (See Williams, Mascoll), C 3
Postoffice: C 3
Pratt, Joseph, E 3
Prince, Dr. John, C 3
Pulling, Edward, C 3
Punchard, John, B 3
Putnam, Bartholomew, E 3
Putnam, Dr. Ebenezer, B 3
Pynchon, William, C 3

Quaker Burying Place: A 3
Quaker Meeting House: A 3

Rand, Abraham, A 2
Rea, Widow, B 1
Richardson, Nathaniel, F 4
Rindge, Daniel, D 4
Rivers:
  North, D 2
  South, D 5
Robinson, John, D 3
Robinson, Samuel, D 3
Ropes, Daniel, D 4

Ropes, Hon. Nathaniel, B 3
Rope Walks:
  Thomas Briggs', F 3
  Joseph Vincent's, F 3
Ruck's Bridge: C 4
Ruck's Creek: C 4
Rust, Henry, C 3
Rust, Capt. Henry, D 3
Rust, Capt. John, C 4

St. Peter's Church: D 3
Samson, Joseph, D 3
Sargent, Mrs. (Col.), C 4
Sargent, Paul Dudley, D 4
Saunders, Capt. Daniel, A 2
Saunders, John, D 3
School-houses:
  Frederick Frye's, C 3
  Grammar, D 3
  Near Common, D 4
  New, C 3
  Site of Old, C 3
  John Southwick's, E 4
Scythe Mill: C 5
Second Meeting House: F 4
Shallop Cove: F 3
Shallop Wharf: F 4
Shipyards:
  Capt. John Becket's, F 5
  Derby Wharf, E 5
  South Fields, D 5
Silsbee, Samuel, E 4
Silsbee, William, E 4
Skerry, Henry, F 1
Sluman, John, C 5
Smith, Rebecca, E 5
South Fields: C 6
South River: D 5
Southwick, John, E 4
Sprague, Joseph, A 3
Sprague's, Major, Distillery: C 2
Stage Point: D 6
Stevens, Eunice, F 4
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Essex Institute	Salem
Mrs. Augustus H. Eustis	Milton
G. Manuel Fenollosa	Grand Rapids, Mich.
James Blair Fishburn	Roanoke, Va.
George M. Foster	Ottumwa, Ia.
T. H. Gage	Worcester
Francis P. Garvan	New York City
Harry Peabody Gifford	Salem
C. A. Goldsmith	Salem
Goodspeed's	Boston
Arthur S. Gray	Watertown
Greenwood Book Shop	Wilmington, Del.
Eleanor Hassam	Salem
Clarence H. Hill	New York City
Ervin F. Hill	Marblehead
Charles E. Hodges	Boston
Parker Morse Hooper	Camden, Me.
Mrs. Sarah C. W. Hoppin	Oyster Bay, N.Y.
James L. Howard	Hartford, Conn.
Mrs. Frederic William Howe	Brooklyn, N.Y.
Franklin Sherman Hoyt	Boston
R. H. Hudson	Bartlesville, Okla.

F. W. Hunnewell	Wellesley
Anna Vaughn Hyatt Huntington	Princeton, N.J.
J. Frederick Hussey	Salem
Rupert Jaques	Marblehead
Donald Babson Jelly	Salem
Charles Alfred Johnson	Summit, N.J.
Harold R. Johnson Company	New York City
Harry C. Johnson	Chicago, Ill.
M. B. Jones	Newton Center
Maxim Karolik	Newport, R.I.
William V. Kellen	Boston
Edward H. Kenerson	Winchester
Walter H. Kilham	Boston
Benjamin P. Kimball	Wellesley Hills
Mr. and Mrs. Harry Kingsley	Salem
Ellen B. Laight	Salem
Christian Lantz	Salem
Charles E. Lauriat Company	Boston
E. W. Longley	Brookline
Augustus P. Loring, Jr.	Boston
Katherine P. Loring	Prides Crossing
Jose A. Machado	Cornwall, Conn.
Daniel C. Manning	Peabody
Metropolitan Museum of Art	New York City
Harlan Miller	Arlington, Vt.
Dr. Robert T. Moffatt	Boston
Mrs. Paul Moore	Convent, N.J.
Rev. Glenn Tilley Morse, B.D.	West Newbury
John G. Morse	Concord
F. S. Moseley	Newburyport
A. C. Mulford	New York City
Museum of Fine Arts Library	Boston
Chauncey Cushing Nash	Boston
Howard S. Neilson	Darien, Conn.
New England Historic Genealogical Society	Boston
New England News Company	Boston
Joseph D. Newmark	Salem
Public Library	Newark, N.J.
Mrs. Henry Nickerson	Cohasset

Mrs. Susan L. Noble	Cambridge
Mrs. Henry B. Northey	Topsfield
Old Corner Bookstore	Boston
Augustin H. Parker	Boston
Ellen Parker	Salem
George S. Parker	Salem
Jospeh S. Pendleton	Calcium, Pa.
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Stephen W. Phillips	Salem
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Dr. Walter G. Phippen	Salem
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Charles S. Pierce	Boston
J. William Prater	Boston
Charles R. Prilik	Chicago, Ill.
James H. Proctor	Ipswich
Harold Trowbridge Pulsifer	East Harpswell, Me.
M. J. Reardon	Salem
Louise Rennie	Palisades, N.Y.
Ralph S. Richmond	Milton
Rich's Inc.	Atlanta, Ga.
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Richard S. Russell	Boston
Salem Public Library	Salem
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Philip Horton Smith	Boston
Arthur Livermore Smythe	Franklin, N.H.
Mrs. R. Brinkley Snowden	Memphis, Tenn
P. L. Spalding	Milton
Philip N. Stern	Fredericksburg, Va.

Ernest N. Stevens	Boston
Nathaniel Stevens	North Andover
Wade Stevenson	Buffalo, N.Y.
Ernestine E. Swanson	New York City
Harriet Silvester Tapley	Danvers
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Mrs. George H. Wetherbee	Braintree
Carter P. Whitcomb	Chicago, Ill.
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Mrs. F. S. Whitwell	Boston
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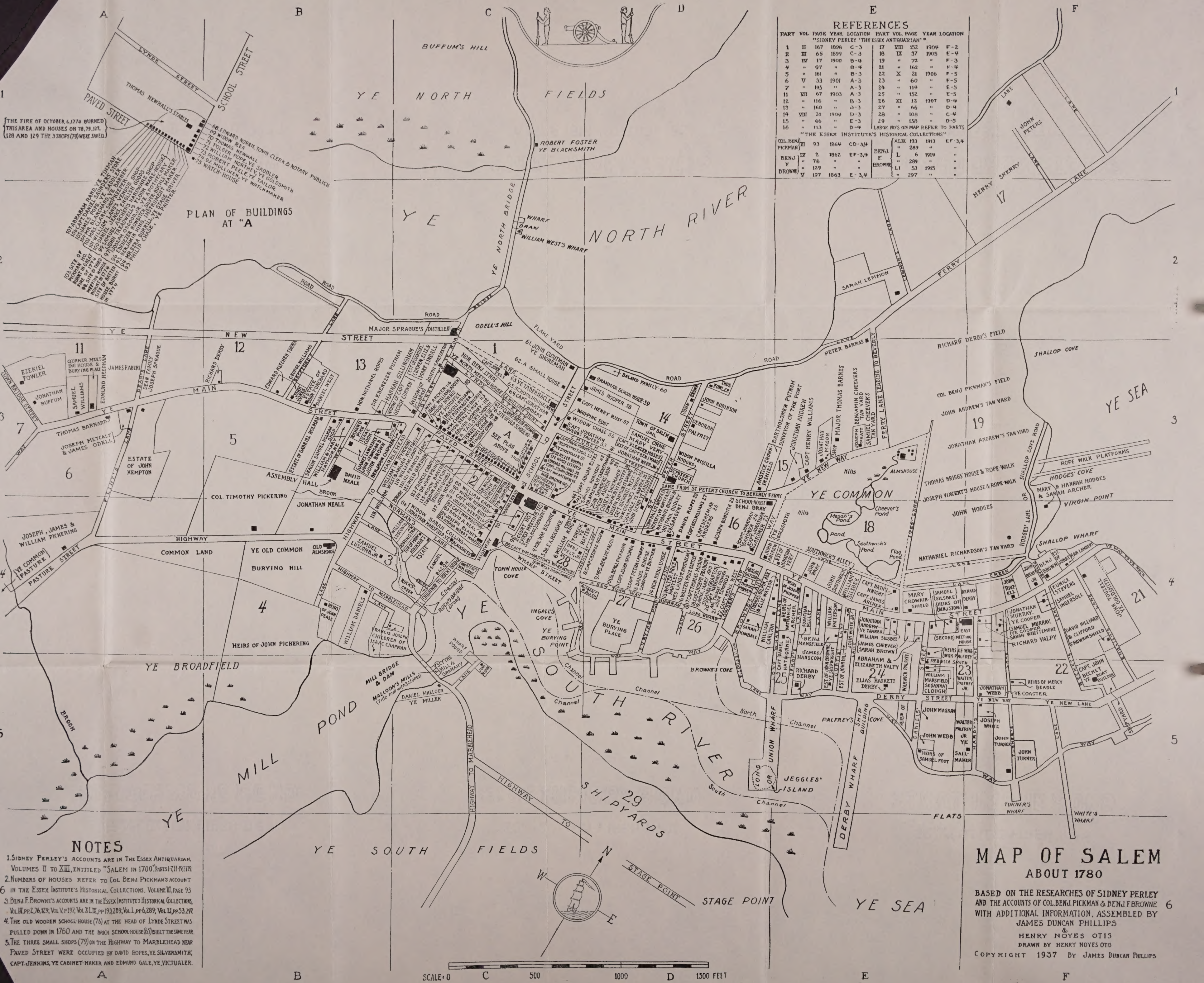
John Woodbury	Boston
Willard W. Woodman	Peabody
John Munro Woolsey	New York City
John P. Wright	Keene, N.H.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BUFFUM'S HILL
YE NORTH FIELDS
PAVED STREET
LYNDE STREET
SCHOOL STREET
THOMAS NEWHALL'S STABLES
THE FIRE OF OCTOBER 6, 1774 BURNED THIS AREA AND HOUSES ON 78, 79, 127, 128 AND 129 THE 3 SHOPS (79) WERE SAVED.
68 EDWARD NORRIS TOWN CLERK & NOTARY PUBLICK
69 WIDOW REA
70 THOMAS NEWHALL
71 FOLGER POPE, YE SADDLER
72 WILLIAM NORTHEY, YE GOLDSMITH
73 ROBERT PEELE, YE WATCHMAKER
74 MULLIKEN, YE WATCHMAKER
75 WATCH-HOUSE
PLAN OF BUILDINGS AT "A
ROBERT FOSTER YE BLACKSMITH
YE NORTH RIVER
YE NORTH BRIDGE
WHARF
DRAW
WILLIAM WEST'S WHARF
ROAD
YE NEW STREET
MAJOR SPRAGUE'S DISTILLERY
ODELL'S HILL
FLAKE YARD
61 JOHN CLOUTMAN YE SHOREMAN
62 A SMALL HOUSE
DALAND FAMILY 60
GRAMMAR SCHOOL HOUSE 59
JAMES HOOPER 58
CAPT HENRY RUST 57
WHIPPING POST
WIDOW CHASE 56
TOWN OF SALEM JAIL
SAMUEL ORNE
MARY VERY
ST PETER'S CHURCH
WIDOW PRISCILLA HODGES
JOHN ROBINSON
DEBORAH PALFREY
THOS FOWLER
LANE FROM ST PETER'S CHURCH TO BEVERLY FERRY
SCHOOL-HOUSE BENJ. BRAY
EZEKIEL FOWLER
JONATHAN BUFFUM
QUAKER MEETING HOUSE & BURYING PLACE
JAMES FABENS
SAMUEL WILLIAMS
EDMUND NEEDHAM
DEAN'S LANE
THOMAS BARNARD
JOSEPH METCALF & JAMES ODELL
TOWN BRIDGE STREET
MAIN STREET
RICHARD DERBY
ESTATE OF JOHN KEMPTON
ASSEMBLY HALL
BROOK
JONATHAN NEALE
DAVID NEALE
COL TIMOTHY PICKERING
HIGHWAY
JOSEPH, JAMES & WILLIAM PICKERING
YE COMMON PASTURE
PASTURE STREET
COMMON LAND
YE OLD COMMON
BURYING HILL
OLD ALMSHOUSE
HEIRS OF JOHN PICKERING
HEIRS OF JOHN PEASE
WILLIAM DANIELS
FRANCIS JOSEPH CHILDREN OF ISAAC CHAPMAN
YE BROADFIELD
MILL BRIDGE & DAM
MALLOON'S MILLS
DANIEL MALLOON YE MILLER
MILL POND
HIGHWAY TO MARBLEHEAD
YE SOUTH FIELDS
HON. NATHANIEL ROPES
DR EBENEZER PUTNAM
HANNAH GILLINGHAM
TOWN HOUSE COVE
WHARF STREET
RUCK'S BRIDGE
INGALL'S COVE
YE BURYING POINT
YE BURYING PLACE
YE SOUTH RIVER
Channel
North Channel
South Channel
BROWNE'S COVE
UNION WHARF
JEGGLES' ISLAND
DERBY WHARF
PALFREY'S SHIP BUILDING COVE
SHIPYARDS
STAGE POINT
YE SEA
FLATS
N
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E
W
PETER BARRAS
RICHARD DERBY'S FIELD
SHALLOP COVE
COL BENJ PICKMAN'S FIELD
JOHN ANDREW'S TAN YARD
JONATHAN ANDREW'S TAN YARD
THOMAS BRIGGS' HOUSE & ROPE-WALK
JOSEPH VINCENT'S HOUSE & ROPE-WALK
JOHN HODGES
NATHANIEL RICHARDSON'S TAN YARD
ROPE WALK PLATFORMS
HODGES' COVE
MARY & HANNAH HODGES & SARAH ARCHER
VIRGIN POINT
SHALLOP WHARF
HODGES' LANE
SHALLOP COVE ROAD
YE COMMON
ALMSHOUSE
Hills
Mason's Pond
Cheever's Pond
Pond
Southwick's Pond
Flag Pond
SOUTHWICK'S ALLEY
SARAH LEMMON
FERRY LANE
HENRY SKERRY
JOHN PETERS
FERRY LANE LEADING TO BEVERLY
BARTHOLOMEW PUTNAM SURVEYOR OF THE PORT
JONATHAN ANDREW
CAPT HENRY WILLIAMS
MAJOR THOMAS BARNES
BENJAMIN CHEEVERS TAN YARD
SAMUEL CHEEVERS TAN YARD
NEW WAY
MARY CROWNINSHIELD
SAMUEL SILSBEE
RICHARD DERBY
JOHN TOUZELL
EAST MEETING HOUSE
JONATHAN MURRAY, YE COOPER
SAMUEL MURRAY, YE COOPER
SARAH WHITTEMORE
RICHARD VALPY
EUNICE STEVENS
SAMUEL INGERSOLL
DAVID HILLIARD & CLIFFORD CROWNINSHIELD
CAPT JOHN BECKET YE BOAT BUILDER
HEIRS OF MERCY BEADLE YE COASTER
DERBY STREET
YE NEW WAY
YE NEW LANE
JOHN WEBB
JOSEPH WHITE
JOHN TURNER
SAIL MAKER
HEIRS OF SAMUEL FOOT
JOHN MAGRAW
WALTER PALFREY JR YE
TURNER'S WHARF
WHITE'S WHARF
WILLIAM MANSFIELD
SUSANNA CLOUGH
ABRAHAM & ELIZABETH VALPY
ELIAS HASKETT DERBY
JAMES CHEEVER
SARAH BROWN
JONATHAN ANDREW YE TANNER
WILLIAM SILSBEE
RICHARD DERBY
JAMES HANSCOM
BENJ MANSFIELD
WILLIAM CARLTON
SARAH KIMBALL
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REFERENCES

PART	VOL.	PAGE	YEAR	LOCATION	PART	VOL.	PAGE	YEAR	LOCATION
"SIDNEY PERLEY 'THE ESSEX ANTIQUARIAN'"									
1	II	167	1898	C-3	17	VIII	152	1904	F-2
2	III	65	1899	C-3	18	IX	37	1905	E-4
3	IV	17	1900	B-4	19	"	72	"	F-3
4	"	97	"	B-4	21	"	162	"	F-4
5	"	161	"	B-3	22	X	21	1906	F-5
6	V	33	1901	A-3	23	"	60	"	F-5
7	"	145	"	A-3	24	"	114	"	E-5
11	VII	67	1903	A-3	25	"	152	"	E-5
12	"	116	"	B-3	26	XI	12	1907	D-4
13	"	160	"	B-3	27	"	66	"	D-4
14	VIII	20	1904	D-3	28	"	108	"	C-4
15	"	66	"	E-3	29	"	158	"	D-5
16	"	113	"	D-4	LARGE NO'S ON MAP REFER TO PARTS				
"THE ESSEX INSTITUTE'S HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS"									
COL. BENJ. PICKMAN	VI	93	1864	CD-3,4	BENJ. F. BROWNE	XLIX	193	1913	EF-3,4
						"	289	"	"
BENJ F BROWNE	IV	2	1862	EF-3,4		L	6	1914	"
	"	76	"	"		"	289	"	"
	"	129	"	"		LI	53	1915	"
	V	197	1863	E-3,4		"	297	"	"

NOTES

1. Sidney Perley's accounts are in The Essex Antiquarian, Volumes II to XIII, entitled "Salem in 1700". Parts 1-7, 11-19, 21-29.
2. Numbers of houses refer to Col Benj. Pickman's account in the Essex Institute's Historical Collections, Volume VI, page 93.
3. Benj. F. Browne's accounts are in the Essex Institute's Historical Collections, Vol. IV, pp. 2, 76, 129; Vol. V, p. 197; Vol. XLIX, pp. 193, 289; Vol. L, pp. 6, 289; Vol. LI, pp. 53, 297.
4. The old wooden school-house (76) at the head of Lynde Street was pulled down in 1760 and the brick school-house (65) built the same year.
5. The three small shops (79) on the Highway to Marblehead near Paved Street were occupied by David Ropes, ye silversmith; Capt. Jenkins, ye cabinet-maker and Edmund Gale, ye victualer.

SCALE: 0 500 1000 1500 FEET

MAP OF SALEM
ABOUT 1780

BASED ON THE RESEARCHES OF SIDNEY PERLEY
AND THE ACCOUNTS OF COL. BENJ. PICKMAN & BENJ. F. BROWNE
WITH ADDITIONAL INFORMATION, ASSEMBLED BY
JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS
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